

N<sup>o</sup> 68.

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
GENERAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—NO. XXVIII.

MAY, 1835.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
I. ABBOTT'S PUBLICATIONS	139	on the Church and her Services.	
1. The Young Christian; or a familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Duty. By JACOB ABBOTT.		By RICHARD MART, D.D., M. R. F. A., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.	
2. The Corner-Stone; or a familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Truth. By JACOB ABBOTT.		V. DIVINE INFLUENCE	250
II. PRINCIPLES OF GRAMMAR	160	Essay on the Doctrine of Divine Influence. <i>Concluded.</i>	
Manual Hebrew Grammar. For the Use of Beginners. By J. SEIXAS.		VI. OLD ENGLISH SACRED POETRY	260
III. PROFESSOR MARSH'S TRANSLATION OF HERDER	167	Lives of Sacred Poets: containing a Biographical and Critical View of English Sacred Poetry, during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First. By ROBERT ARIS WILLIAMS, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge.	
The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry. By J. G. HERDER. Translated from the German by JAMES MARSH.		NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE	268
IV. RECOGNITION OF FRIENDS IN HEAVEN	229	Scenes and Characters illustrating Christian Truth. No. I. Trial and Self-Discipline. No. II. The Spirit. — Sober Thoughts on the State of the Times. — The Western Examiner. — Professor Palfrey's Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities.	
The Happiness of the Blessed, considered as to the Particulars of their State; their Recognition of each other in that State, and its Difference of Degree. To which are added, Musings			

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES BOWEN.

LONDON:

BOWLAND BUTLER, AND R. A. BARNETT, GREAT QUEEN STREET.

1835.

## NOTICE.

The Christian Examiner is published once in two months, on the first day of March, May, July, September, November, and January, making six numbers, of 136 pages each, or two volumes, of 408 pages each, for every year, at \$4 per annum, payable on the delivery of the second number; that is, on the 1st of May.

All communications may be directed "To the Editors of the Christian Examiner, care of Charles Bowen."

---

### CHARLES BOWEN,

NO. 141 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON,

HAS JUST PUBLISHED

DISCOURSES ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. By WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, D. D. 12mo.

(*This volume is composed entirely of discourses never before published.*)

"The fervid and eloquent pen of the Rev. Mr. Channing, whether employed, as in the volume before us, in elucidating the truth and the beauty of the Christian Revelation and the obligations and duties of man under it,—or in critically analysing the character, the deeds, and the influence of the mighty Napoleon,—or in examining in prose scarcely less inspired than the glowing strains of the Poet himself, the works and genius of Milton,—can never appeal in vain to educated readers. In truth, we consider Mr. Channing as one of the greatest living masters of the English language; and when to the beauty of style is added the logical force of a well disciplined and highly cultivated mind,—of which, as in the work now under notice, the whole energies are devoted to prove to the understanding, and to make perceptible to the heart the reasonableness, as well as the indispensableness to happiness both here and hereafter, of faith in the Christian dispensation,—it will be readily believed that he has made a book that will be widely read. We speak not here in reference to the peculiar views of the writer as to the nature of the Saviour,—these, doubtless, though only appearing incidentally, may have the effect of diverting many from his pages;—yet we know not where, in the same space, can be found a more striking and irresistible statement of the evidences of Christianity, than in the first discourse of this volume."—*New York American.*

### CHANNING'S WORKS,

Being Discourses, Reviews, and Miscellanies. 8vo. pp. 600.

This Edition contains the same matter as the first. It is intended, however, for a more general circulation; the price is therefore reduced to \$1.50, which makes it one of the cheapest works now before the public.

THE NEW YORK COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS for Social and Private Worship. Third Edition.

Societies and others wishing for this Collection, can be furnished, by the quantity, on reasonable terms.

A NEW TRANSLATION of the BOOK OF PSALMS, with an Introduction. By GEORGE R. NOYES, Author of a 'Translation of the Book of Job.'



THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVIII.

NEW SERIES—N<sup>o</sup>. XXXVIII.

---

MAY, 1835.

---

- ART. I.—1. *The Young Christian; or a familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Duty.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Stereotype Edition. Boston. 1833. 12mo. pp. 395.  
2. *The Corner-Stone; or a familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Truth.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Boston. 1834. 12mo. pp. 360.

PERHAPS no books have issued from the religious press, more true to their title as “Illustrations,” than those of Mr. Abbott. Familiar illustration is his characteristic, and reason, nature, and life, the sources from which he draws most freely,—not to the neglect of Scripture, for he aims to base everything on that,—but to a much greater and bolder degree than has been common with writers of his faith. In this respect, if in no other, his writings may form an epoch in religious composition.

We have felt a reluctance to draw into controversy books of so practical an aim and devotional temper. Mr. Abbott deprecates any such use of his works, which makes us the more unwilling to evince the least disposition to take them up for that purpose. We cheerfully accord him the justice which he asks in his Preface to “The Corner-Stone,”—“to admit, that I have made this exhibition of the Gospel, with reference to its moral effect on human hearts, and not for the purpose of taking sides in a controversy between different parties of Christians.” No one can read a single chapter from his pen, without seeing that to affect the heart is his great object, and that he does not contend for doctrine, so much as seek to illustrate and apply it. Still, we are sure, no one would be

less averse than himself to a temperate discussion of any doctrine or principle which he has advocated. Nor will he object to a candid, free examination of his books themselves. The notice that we shall take of them here will be general and free, we hope candid.

These books deserve consideration. Their author possesses a happy power of illustrating the highest truths, and recommending them to the understanding and interest of the lowest minds, minds indeed of almost every grade. His works are calculated to find, and they have found, a ready reception and extensive circulation. We have seen accounts, though we do not retain particulars, of their great popularity and multiplication in England as well as this country. It does not surprise us, nor cause any regret. The increase of practical religious works, and the increased demand for them, we welcome as one of the best indications of our time. We are particularly glad, when any one succeeds in the difficult task of dressing religious truth in a garb which will make it attractive to the young, and even to the lovers of mere narrative and fiction. We are glad, when any thing is written, which will fix the mind upon religion in its private hours, and compel or allure it to contemplate its own habits, dangers, and duties. As we know not the form of Christianity which does not seem to us better than infidelity, so we hardly know the book, aiming to elucidate and enforce religion, however defective in doctrine, which we would not put into the hands, or see in the hands, of the young, more willingly, than the vapid, noxious trash, which usually passes under the name of light reading. We certainly recollect no book of a practical moral character in common use, which we would not prefer to have read, rather than that nothing of this character should be read, no interest engaged, or inquiry started. Much should we distrust our own interest in religion, our impartial joy in its spread, if we could treat any such book or writer, as some of our own practical writers have been treated. They have something to answer for, be they of our name or another, who attempt to stamp with opprobrium any works, whose unquestionable design is to awaken or strengthen religious feeling, and whose prevailing tendency, however feeble or with whatever exceptions, must be in that direction.

In that direction clearly is the tendency of all we have seen in the books now before us, and several others, from the

pen, or the supervision of Mr. Abbott. We have admired his copiousness and tact in illustration, and though we have seen defects in style, doctrine, and judgment, they have seemed to us to be exceptions, not the rule. We find no difficulty in sustaining interest, and no despair of deriving profit, from such books. They can hardly be read by any one, without leading him to self-examination, serious and deep thought; a good result, whether produced by what we approve wholly or in part only. We should be sorry to think, that any could read them, without seeing more clearly his own deficiencies of character, and mourning over his sins; a still better result, though not the best. And here we may mark one of the defects of Mr. Abbott's writings. They often come short, and are apt to come short, of the highest and best moral effect,—that of convincing the sinner that he has something to do and can do something towards his reform, showing him what it is definitely, and then stimulating him to its performance. Their effect is oftener depressing than stimulating, and we fear would so be felt by many, who need to be stimulated and encouraged more than to be depressed.

This defect arises partly from too great amplification, want of definiteness, want of strong impression with clear instruction as to this or that duty. It arises still more perhaps from the author's peculiar views. He may not regard it as a defect. He may think that all men ought to be depressed; that a conviction of guilt, sorrow for sin, and a loathing, trembling abhorrence of it, humiliation and self-condemnation, are the beginning, and must be the beginning, of that thorough change and new life, which are essential to all. To a great degree, we believe it; to so great a degree, that we are not inclined to divert attention from what we approve in it, to what we disapprove. Men do need to be convicted of sin, all men. They must be brought not only to resist sin, but to abhor it, to see in it no charm, but feel that to them, as to God, it is an abomination. They must understand what the Apostle meant, when he spoke of sin as "exceeding sinful." Such a knowledge of it, such conviction and habitual contemplation of it, are salutary, are indispensable to thorough repentance and Christian progress. It is plain that no obdurate offender can be roused and rightly impelled, until he is brought to this conviction, and humbled and abased by it. It may be that no common offender, no sinner, that is, no man,



is led to enter upon a decided Christian course, to see the necessity of it, and resolve upon it with all the strength that God has given or promised, without a new and vigorous impulse from convictions of this kind, pertaining to himself and his own sins, and not to men in the mass, or sin in general. It is this that the Scriptures often denote by conversion; and this we would urge upon all, using only the qualification which Mr. Abbott has well expressed, that "conversion is not a change completed,—it is a change *begun*." If his friends would regard more than they do the importance of the distinction there conveyed, and if our friends would consider more than they do the importance of the duty there implied, something would be gained on both sides. That men, to become Christians, must make a beginning at some period of their lives,—often an emphatic, marked beginning in their convictions and purposes, their motives and efforts, so marked that it may well bear the name of a new birth, and they be called new creatures,—we consider one of the fundamental truths of the Bible, and one of the clearest lessons of reason and life. Obviously the doctrine has its qualifications, and the duty its distinctions, as applied in Scripture to Jews and Gentiles, and applied now to those born under the light and influences of Christianity. But the principle is not changed. Its importance is not lessened, nor indeed its necessity. We have more reason to desire, than to fear, its application to ourselves or to any around us.

In all this, however, every one sees, there should be great discrimination and definiteness, strict truth as well as earnestness. It is the want of discrimination, not the vehemence of appeal or closeness of application, that we regret in most preachers and writers of Mr. Abbott's stamp. That he himself uses more discrimination and independence, though not enough, is one reason of our interest in his books. To show this trait, and to avail ourselves of views so just and important, we make a few extracts here from the concluding Chapter of "The Corner-Stone." They are directions suited to every one who wishes to become a Christian.

"Become *wholly* a Christian, if you mean to become one at all. Do not try to come and make half a peace with God, or to seek a secret reconciliation. If you have been in sin, renounce it entirely. If you have been in error, abandon it openly. Do not be ungrateful or cowardly enough to wish to conceal your new at-

tachment to the cause of God, or to avoid an acknowledgment that you have been in the wrong. Take the side of God and duty openly, distinctly, fearlessly. This is your duty; and, besides, it is your happiness. A half Christian is always a most wretched one.

"Be a humble Christian. Do not fancy yourself an extraordinary instance of religious zeal, or look down with affected wonder on the supposed inferiority of those who have been longer in their Master's service. You may be as ardent, as devoted, as pure and holy as you please; but do not draw comparisons between yourself and others, till you have been tried a little. Remember that the evidence of piety is chiefly its fruits, and that well grounded assurance can come only after years of devoted, and tried, and *proved* attachment to God."

"Do not waste any time in trying to determine at what precise time you became a Christian, nor distress yourself because you cannot determine it: nor perplex your mind and impede your religious progress, because you cannot positively ascertain whether you are really a Christian or not. If the service of God looks alluring to you, press forward into it, without stopping to consider the difficulties of determining how you came where you are.

"There is perhaps no more common source of perplexity and discouragement to the young Christian than this. He thinks he must be able to tell precisely when he began to serve God, or else he can have no evidence that he really has begun to serve him at all. But that time cannot be determined. In a very large number of the cases where it is supposed to be determined, the period which is fixed, is probably fixed by mistake. Deposit a little seed in a place of warmth and moisture, and watch it as narrowly as you please, and see if you can tell when it begins to vegetate? Equally impossible is it, in most cases, to determine the precise period when the first holy desires sprung up in the human heart: and it is useless, as well as impossible. The only question of importance is, whether the seed is growing, — no matter when, or how, it began to grow.

"Or rather, I should perhaps say, the only question is, by what cultivation we can make the seed grow most rapidly: for important as it is, that every Christian should know what are his condition and prospects in reference to God and eternity, there is undoubtedly such a fault, and it is a very common one, as pursuing this inquiry with too great earnestness and anxiety. Many a mind wears and wastes itself away, and exhausts its moral energy, in fruitless endeavours to determine its own spiritual state, when peace and happiness would soon come, if it would only press on in the work of duty."

"Do not exaggerate the religious differences between yourself

and others, or overrate their importance. Be willing to see piety wherever you can find it, and be bound to all who possess it by a common sympathy. If they differ from you in this or that article of belief, do not fix your eye obstinately upon that difference, and dwell upon it, and dispute about it, till you effectually sunder the bond by which you might be united. Look for *piety*. Wherever you find it, welcome it to your confidence and sympathy. In all your efforts to do good, too, aim at the direct promotion of piety, not at the eradication of religious error. Your attacks upon error will only strengthen it in its entrenchments; but piety, wherever you can make it grow, will undermine and destroy error, more surely than any other means you can employ." — *The Corner-Stone*, pp. 353, 354, 357.

Supposing the books, whose titles we have taken, to be well known to most if not all of our readers, we have thought it needless to give a formal account of them, or to observe any order in the extracts we may make. Our remarks upon them as a whole, we will not prolong. Of the first, "The Young Christian," we can speak with more unqualified approbation, than of the other. The one relates to Christian Duty, the other to Christian Truth. It might be expected, therefore, that we should find more to agree with cordially in the first, than in the last; for though their author does not make either of them unnecessarily or offensively doctrinal, he could not easily conduct an inquiry or an exhortation on the principles of Christian truth, without building it on his own peculiar opinions. Those opinions, so far as they appear in these volumes, are mild Calvinism. We do not recollect any extreme opinion, or very harsh expression. There is certainly no appearance of bigotry or bitterness. There is occasional boldness of thinking and speaking, and we have no doubt the writer follows the advice given to his readers;—"Be independent; use your own reason, your own senses, your own Bible. Be untrammelled; throw off the chains and fetters which compel so many minds to believe only what they are told to believe, and to walk, intellectually and morally, in paths marked out for them by human teachers." In the exercise of this independence, he excludes much that we have been led to expect in publications from similar sources, but which we are glad not to find. He introduces very much to which we heartily respond, and which we would help to recommend and disseminate. The duties of confession, prayer, faith in Christ, and personal



improvement, are variously elucidated and strongly enforced in "The Young Christian." In the Chapters on Difficulties in Religion, and the Evidences of Christianity, there is also much excellent matter. It would not be difficult to find objectionable passages, nor difficult to quote unobjectionable pages. We have not disposition for the first, nor room for the last. The book may be placed profitably in the hands of any one, who has the habit or the power of discrimination, but without this restriction, for the reason intimated above, we cannot recommend it. It is designed for young readers, but not children. We can take but one extract from it, and that we choose because it gives useful advice much wanted at the present moment, and equally pertinent to Christians, doubters, and opposers. It closes the Chapter on the Evidences of Christianity. There are unbelievers, to be sure, with whom we should take a different course from that recommended in the second paragraph; but for the most part we do not doubt, that unbelief is in the heart more than in the mind; and this is a truth which cannot be too much considered by any class.

"1. Do not think there is no other side to this question. There are a great many things which may be said against the Bible, and some things which you, with your present attainments in Christian knowledge, perhaps, cannot answer. But they do not touch or affect the great arguments by which the authority of the Bible is sustained. They are *small, detached* difficulties. Then let your mind rest, calmly and with confidence, upon the great but simple arguments on which the strong foundations of your belief stand.

"2. Never be inclined to dispute upon the evidences of the Christian religion. The difficulty with unbelievers is one of the *heart*, not of the *intellect*, and you cannot alter the heart by disputing. When they present you with arguments against Christianity, reply in substance, "What you say seems plausible, still it does not reach the broad and deep foundations upon which, in my view, Christianity rests; and consequently, notwithstanding what you say, I still place confidence in the word of God."

"3. Notice this, which, if you will watch your own experience, you will find to be true. Your confidence in the word of God and in the truths of religion will be almost exactly proportional to the fidelity with which you *do your duty*. When you lose your interest in your progress in piety, neglect prayer, and wander into sin, then you will begin to be in darkness and doubt. If you are so unhappy as to get into such a state, do not waste your time in

trying to *reason yourself* back to belief again. *Return to duty.* Come to God and confess your wanderings, and submit your heart to be inclined to him. If you do this, light for the intellect and peace for the heart will come back together." — *The Young Christian*, pp. 220, 221.

"The Corner-Stone" "is intended to be in some sense, the counterpart to the 'Young Christian.'" It aims to exhibit religious truth, by following the prominent features in the history, and the most important subjects in the teaching, of Jesus Christ. We are referred to him as a moral manifestation of the Deity; to his personal character as a man; to his message, or human duty; his reception, or human nature; his doctrine on punishment and pardon; his last Supper; the character of his crucifiers; his parting command, or the means of spreading the Gospel; and his parting promise, or the influences of the Holy Spirit. These subjects involve all the points in controversy at the present day; and we should not have thought it possible that they could have been treated by an Orthodox man with so little controversy as they are here, or so little of the spirit of condemnation and exclusion. We would not insinuate that Mr. Abbott yields or disguises his opinions. He shows clearly what they are, builds his whole appeal upon them, and appears to take their truth for granted, without stopping to discuss them, or to reprobate others. He evidently thinks lightly of some controversies which have been fiercely agitated in former and latter days; for he places among "questions of no practical consequence," such as these; "the origin of sin, the state of the soul between death and the resurrection, the salvation of infants, the precise metaphysical relationship of the Son to the Father." He opposes all material conceptions of God and heaven. He says there is "no visible Deity,"—that God is a spirit, having "no form, no place, no throne;" manifested only in his works, known only by what he does. This is a view which we have seldom seen carried to the extent to which Mr. Abbott carries it. We are not satisfied with his treatment of it. There is too much refinement and theory for common minds. We care not how strenuously he opposes the earthliness and materialism which weigh down many of the conceptions prevalent among Christians, and not least among those of his own faith. But it would do more good to direct this opposition to other subjects,

than to the personality of God. For his personality is opposed and refined away by the reasoning. If He is always to be as invisible to us as he now is, if He is but a "widespread, omnipotent power, — which we can never see, and never know, except so far as he shall manifest himself by his doings," — it will seem to many unmeaning language to call him a Being, or speak of being with him, or of loving and obeying him. It is as easy to believe, that we shall see God hereafter, and to understand how we can see him, as it is to understand how we are to see and know each other. The whole subject is above our reach, and should be left where the Scriptures leave it.

Nor can we see much reason or much use in Mr. Abbott's way of accounting for the institution of the Lord's Supper. His idea is, that every thing relating to its form, and the nature of the elements, was purely accidental. "The articles used, were those which, we may literally say, *happened* to be there," and he makes much of what followed to be of the nature of accident. He supposes our Saviour did not give a moment's thought to the consideration of what the thing or act should be, by which he was to be commemorated. "He first takes the bread which was upon the table, and pours out another cup of wine, and says, &c." And this is illustrated by reference to the time of the Deluge, when God "just takes the rainbow, the object most obvious on the occasion when it was wanted, as the token of his promised protection." We like neither the taste nor the tendency of this kind of writing. We have no superstition about the elements or any forms. But we think it desirable to use all caution, lest, in doing away their intrinsic importance, we do away their influence and frustrate their design. At the same time we agree with this writer in his general view of forms, and hope he will be able to induce all his readers to regard the ceremonies of our religion as "*means*, valuable only on account of their conduciveness to an end; and that end too, a moral, not a ceremonial one." But let none think that the end can be attained without the means.

Mr. Abbott's danger, considering him merely as a writer, lies in his talent and love for copious illustration. Valuable as the faculty is, and available as he often makes it, it leads him not seldom into fancied analogies, strained metaphors, and a diffuse style, by which his meaning is weakened, if not lost.



As a reasoner he is still more defective. He does not see, or he writes in such a way that his readers do not all see, the points of agreement between his imaginary cases and the truths to be illustrated. Add to these a radical weakness, to use a mild term, in the system on which he stands, a misapprehension of the very Corner-Stone of Christianity, and our objections to him are expressed. To show them more distinctly, we will not go over the whole volume in a fault-finding mood, but will take a single subject, which will let us sufficiently into his manner of enforcing doctrine, and lead us to consider one of the first principles of God's moral government.

The subject is that of Pardon, or divine forgiveness. It involves all the moral attributes of the Deity, and is substantially the subject of atonement. The history of this subject is one of the most instructive in the annals of the Christian faith. It may be doubted, if there is another word in the English language which has passed through so many changes of meaning, unchanged itself, as the word atonement. It seems to carry in its letters and sound, independently of signification, a potent charm. All who have ever used the word in their creed or worship, all who can answer in the affirmative the test-question, "Do you believe in the atonement," are accounted Christians. One would infer that no word occurred so frequently in Scripture, instead of the fact that it is found but once in the Christian Scriptures, and never in the Jewish in the sense of moral substitution. One would suppose it had a uniform, well known meaning, not that it has as many as the different ages, sects, churches, and teachers, who have adopted and made it essential. The virtue is in the word, beyond doubt; for no other word, however nearly approaching it, is allowed to represent it, no circumlocution or explanation will be taken, let it express what it may, not even that word which is the true meaning of the original, and is used by the translators of the New Testament in every instance but one, no, not "reconciliation" itself will suffice. It must be *atonement*. And if we venture, when questioned upon it, to ask what it denotes in the mind of the interrogator, the very question is heresy. We are not quibbling. The subject is far too solemn for any manner of trifling. It is one objection to the conduct of which we now speak, that it is itself trifling, in effect though not in purpose. It is trifling

with Scripture, to represent so much as depending on a single English word. It is trifling with principle, to make the very terms of our acceptance with God subject to a verbal, or in the narrowest sense doctrinal, test. If words alone were essential, or if we wished to obtain favor by the use of them, it would be easy to use the popular language on the subject of atonement, simply annexing to it mentally, as all do, that meaning which we believe to be its proper meaning. It would be easy also to find writers of our own name, who have used this language freely. With the early Polish Unitarians it seems to have been common. And those who call Unitarians of the present day Socinians, might be surprised, should they see in the Racovian Catechism, issued by the true Socinian churches, such language as this;—“Christ, by the divine will and purpose, suffered for our sins, and underwent a bloody death for an expiatory sacrifice.”\* Socinus himself uses similar language, followed by all the eminent Polish writers of his church and time. In the Geneva Catechism used in the Unitarian churches of Geneva and Switzerland at this time, there are such passages as this: “The death of Christ is to be regarded at all times, as the only sacrifice capable of obtaining from God the pardon of our sins.” The early English Unitarians use much the same language, and sometimes stronger. Quotations from Emlyn, Clarke, and Taylor are before us to this effect, where the death of Christ is spoken of as “piacular and expiatory,” and said to be necessary to make the pardon of sin consistent with the wisdom and justice of God &c. † Dr. Price, in his *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, says, “As the sacrifices under the law of Moses expiated guilt, and procured remission, so Christ’s shedding his blood and offering up his life was the means of remission and favor to penitent sinners.” And in this last clause, we believe all Unitarians of the present day would readily concur; that Christ’s death was “the means of remission and favor to penitent sinners.”

It is singular how near to this the language of Trinitarians and Calvinists comes. It is the only point in which they themselves agree, in regard to the atonement. They all use

---

\* Racovian Catechism, Section V.

† Sparks’s *Inquiry*, to which we are indebted, containing a brief but faithful history of opinions on this subject.

the word ; but if you attempt to give that word such a definition as will express the views of all of them, it can only be such an one as the above from Price. Every variety, every shade of meaning, may be found annexed to the word atonement in the Orthodox church, ancient and modern ; and we look in vain for any universal agreement except in this, that the sufferings and death of Christ were the *means* of forgiveness and salvation. Dr. Magee, whom, if any one, we have a right to regard as the representative of the party, holds this important language ; "The sacrifice of Christ was never deemed by any, who did not wish to calumniate the doctrine of the atonement, to have made God placable, but merely viewed as a means appointed by divine wisdom, by which to bestow forgiveness;" — "the means, whereby God has thought fit to grant his favor and gracious aid to repentant sinners." From this, few probably would dissent. We know of no Unitarians, who do not believe that Christ's death was essential to that dispensation of grace, through which alone pardon is offered and salvation is to be obtained. Thus, while many Unitarians use the strong language of the Orthodox, the most noted of the Orthodox are compelled, when they would express the general faith, to use terms in which we all can unite. It teaches us the emptiness of verbal agreements and the madness of verbal warfare ; especially when we reflect, that, after all, the great question remains unanswered, untouched ; viz. *How* is the death of Christ the means of salvation ?

This question, some recent writers, and Mr. Abbott is prominent among them, attempt to meet by familiar *illustrations* of the manner in which Christ's death has purchased pardon for sinners. We are desirous of examining these illustrations, for they seem to us to mark a new chapter in the history of the atonement. Several years since an able writer in "The Christian Spectator" introduced some of them into a review of Butler's "Analogy," since published as an Introduction to a new edition of that work, with its author's name, Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, not unknown to us. He labors much to show, that substitution, which he regards as expressing the nature of the atonement, is as clearly a law of nature as of revelation. And his astounding proof of the fact is, that all men toil and suffer for each other, rescue each other from many woes, and purchase for each other many blessings. "Friends aid friends by toil ; a parent foregoes rest for a



child ; and the patriot pours out his blood on the altars of freedom, that others may enjoy the blessings of liberty,—that is, that others may not be doomed to slavery, want, and death.” These, with various amplifications, are Mr. Barnes’s instances of substitution in nature, and illustrations of the operation of the atonement. He affirms indeed that this is not all that is meant by that doctrine. That he should have thought it any thing to the purpose, and should call it *substitution*, shows us at once how widely that word has departed from its old meaning, how strangely strong sense may be distorted by system, and how constantly Calvinistic doctrines are softening their hard features and struggling to put on more rational and liberal forms. It is seen again in this inquiry of Mr. Barnes ; “What, we ask, is the precise objectionable point in the atonement, if it be not, that God aids us in our sins and woes, by the self-denial and sufferings of another ?” We could assure him, that, so far as we are concerned, we see nothing objectionable in that, and that he wastes his contempt, as well as betrays his ignorance, when he speaks of “the system of the Unitarians which denies all such substitution.” No Unitarian would be at the pains to deny *such* substitution, unless it were to deny that it is any substitution at all. The only real case that he offers is that of the king of the Locrians, who, having made a law that the adulterer should be punished with the loss of his eyes, and, his son being the first offender, reconciled the justice of the king with the feelings of the father, by taking one of his son’s eyes and losing one of his own. This was substitution, to be sure. We have seen it referred to before as an apt illustration and triumphant vindication of the old doctrine of vicarious suffering. But we are impelled to ask what kind of justice there is in it, and what human judge would be satisfied with such an execution of the law, or what system stand under it. We might ask too, if any honor is done to the Almighty and Merciful Father, by supposing him driven to such an expedient, or willing to inflict misery upon the innocent that he might thus clear the guilty. Ezekiel was of a different mind : “The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son.”

We have adverted to these illustrations of Mr. Barnes, because they are the first of the kind that we remember to have seen advanced by a sensible writer of the present day.

We are yet more astonished to see similar illustrations used by Mr. Abbott, to whom we now return. He first gives us a story of "The Lost Cap," in substance as follows. In a New-England school, there occurred some difficulty one winter evening among the boys, when one of them, using the power of the strongest, seized a schoolmate's cap and threw it upon the ice, where by the wind and an increasing snow-storm it was driven off and lost from sight. Complaint was brought to the master; the boy who had lost the cap was in tears; he who had wronged him was penitent and troubled, and the whole school in suspense as to the result. The master was himself perplexed at first, seeing that it was unnecessary to punish the penitent offender on his own account, and yet unsafe to let it pass without some reproof and impression. His conclusion we must give in his own words.

" 'Ah! I see what I can do,' thought he; 'I will take the suffering myself. Yes, I will forgive Joseph at once, and then I will go out myself and find the cap, or help them find it, and when the scholars see that the consequences of this offence come upon my head, bringing me inconvenience and even suffering, especially if they see me bear them with a kind and forgiving spirit, perhaps it will do as much good as punishing Joseph would do. Yes, I know that all my pupils, and Joseph among the rest, are strongly attached to me, and I am sure that when they see me going out into the cold storm, over the ice, and through the snow, to repair the injury which he has done, it will make a strong impression. In fact, it will, I am sure, touch them more effectually, and produce a much stronger dislike to such a spirit, than four times as much inconvenience and suffering inflicted as a punishment on Joseph himself.' " — *Corner-Stone*, p. 75.

The plan was carried into effect. The master exposed himself, in the view of all the boys, to the severity of the storm, brought back the cap after a long walk, and was satisfied that the desired impression was made in the school. That we may do Mr. Abbott no injustice, we will let him apply the illustration himself.

"Such a case is analogous, in many respects, to the measures God has adopted to make the forgiveness of human guilt safe. It is only one point, however, of the analogy, which I wish the reader to observe here, viz. that though the measure in question was a thing essential for the master *to do*, it was not essential for the criminal *to understand*, at the time he was forgiven.

"So in regard to the moral effect in God's government, produced by the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in preparing the way for the forgiveness of sin. The measure was necessary to render free forgiveness safe; but a clear understanding of its nature and of its moral effect is not always necessary to enable the individual sinner to avail himself of it." — *Corner-Stone*, p. 78.

This occurs in the third chapter, to illustrate Human Duty. In the beginning of the sixth chapter, on Pardon, the author reverts to it, as "an instance of what may be called *moral substitution*,— putting the voluntary suffering of the innocent, in the place of the punishment of the guilty." And, though he disclaims the idea of its being entirely analogous to the great plan of Christian redemption, he repeatedly says that it is analogous so far as the general principle of moral substitution is concerned. He then offers another illustration, in which an injury is done to a school-house, and the master overlooks it, because he sees that the offender is sufficiently punished, and all are impressed, by knowing that *he* will have to bear the consequences. Another case is that of the wanton destruction of the workmen's tools by some of the students of a College, all of whom, the guilty not being known, agree to repair the injury by a voluntary subscription, and thus the innocent share the punishment due to the guilty.

Now, in regard to all such illustrations, our first remark is, that they are wholly inadequate as measures by which pardon is rendered safe; the first purpose for which they are introduced. Let such cases frequently occur, and the same course be always taken, and what will be the effect? Will the moral impression upon the good be deepened with every repetition, and will that impression go to fix in their minds the distinction between right and wrong, the natural and just consequences of innocence and guilt? Will the moral impression upon the guilty be deepened with every repetition, and their escape from punishment by such means be always safe, whatever their feeling at the time? By no means. Let the boys of any school understand that their master will bear the consequences of whatever mischief they may commit, provided they appear penitent, — let the evil-minded students of every college know that their companions will share with them the penalty of all their sins, without their own detection, — and he who supposes such principles will stand, or such pardon be safe, has a much better opinion of human nature than we have. No doubt, such



a course will answer a better purpose occasionally than punishment; but there must be a sensitive and well-disposed mind in the offender, — the opposite of which must be supposed as a general case, — and uncommon evidence of reflection, gratitude, discernment, and permanent impression, in the characters of all interested. As a principle of justice, or a measure of government, it is sadly imperfect. At best, it does but illustrate the moral efficacy of compassion, disinterested love, and voluntary endurance, to impress the heart; which brings it much nearer our view of the atonement, than to any other.

And that is our next remark in relation to all these illustrations, that they do not reach the peculiarity, the true principle, of the Calvinistic doctrine of the atonement. What is that principle? If we allow Calvin himself to reply, he will tell us that Christ did not merely suffer voluntarily, "the just for the unjust, to bring us to God," as Peter thought, — but that God inflicted suffering upon him as punishment, — that "he sustained the character of a malefactor," it being requisite "that he should feel the severity of the divine vengeance, in order to appease the wrath of God, and satisfy his justice." Luther would answer us to the same purport, in still more horrible language, which we shudder to read, and will not write. Edwards comes but little short of it, when, with much more of the same kind, or worse, he says: — "Then the utmost that *vindictive justice demanded*, even the whole debt, was paid." If we apply to as late and learned a theologian as Professor Stuart, we learn, that he means by Christ suffering as our substitute, "that God did appoint and accept the sufferings of Christ instead of the punishment due to us as sinners against his law." Every one knows how much there is in every Calvinistic formula and Orthodox writer, of the same kind. We quote so much of it, merely to contrast it with the illustrations we have considered. And we ask our readers if they would ever suspect, that such illustrations were designed for such a doctrine, or that the substitution of which Mr. Barnes and Mr. Abbott speak, bears the faintest analogy, in any one respect, to the substitution of Calvin, Edwards, or Stuart. No; to furnish any kind of parallel, or the semblance of application, the master should have told the trembling offender, in the case of the lost cap, that it was impossible for him to forgive him, until he had inflicted upon his innocent brother, or some one else, the whole punishment that was due to him. 'That you are peni-

tent is nothing. The law must be executed. Justice must have its course. One of your fellows, however guiltless, must step forth as your substitute, and bear the whole penalty to its last and bitterest pangs. Or, if some other being, the highest and holiest in the universe, will suffer in your stead, your sins and those of all around you, may be remitted. Justice being satisfied, mercy is free, pardon is safe.'

We are not conscious of the slightest overstatement here.— We have never seen the prevalent views of atonement expressed, even by its comparatively moderate advocates, without involving the supposition, that it was impossible, in the nature of things, that sin could be forgiven, whether repented of or not, until it had been legally and publicly *punished*. That we take to be the inherent, distinguishing principle of the popular doctrine. It is not merely, that an expression must be given of God's abhorrence of sin; it is, that there exists in the very nature of God, or his laws, an intrinsic impossibility that he can forgive sin, until it has been punished to the full, immediately, or vicariously. It is not merely, that a moral impression must be made in favor of the absolute necessity of holiness; that impression may be made in countless other ways, and bring the world to repentance and submission, and yet not reach the difficulty. A sacrifice must be offered, a victim must bleed, infinite satisfaction must be made to inexorable justice. When this has been done, every penitent soul may be pardoned, even though ignorant of the fact and the operation of the sacrifice. To this extent does Mr. Abbott go, and with greater explicitness than most writers, on this particular point. In the passages last quoted from him, it will be observed, that he thinks it not necessary that the sinner should understand the nature or effect of the measures adopted by God to render pardon safe. On the next page he tells us, in very pointed language, "Man could not have been forgiven, if Christ had not died; but he may be forgiven, and yet not know that Christ died, till he actually meets him in heaven." In this way only is the little child to be forgiven, through the expiatory sufferings of its Saviour, though it has no knowledge of these sufferings, and will not for years be able to understand their necessity or power. This is also applied to savages and heathen by Mr. Abbott; and, though strangely applied, we are glad to see, that he asserts the *possibility* of their being saved through the teachings of conscience and the working of repentance, without any knowledge

of the atonement or of Christ. Still conscience and repentance would not save them, — they could not be saved, — if Christ had not died. A Christian minister, thrown among these savages who had heard nothing of the kind before, thus gives them his last message.

“ ‘There is a God,’ he says to those around him, in his dying hour. ‘He will punish the bad. Become good, and you will please him.’

“ ‘Ah!’ reply the savages, ‘we have all been bad already, — very bad.’

“ ‘Think not about the past,’ he replies. ‘It will be forgiven : — there is a way : — I cannot explain it. Leave your wickedness and do right, and God will save you.’ ” — *Corner-Stone*, pp. 79, 80.

A sensible, faithful, Christian sermon. We wish all missionaries would copy after it. But we can never agree to the principle on which it is here said to stand. We can never believe, that the same would not have been true, that the faithful minister could not have preached it, that Almighty God could not have sealed and fulfilled it, — but for a particular event, taking place in a particular way, on this little globe, four thousand years after man was placed upon it ; an event, too, of which these savages knew nothing, of which they were not required to know any thing, by which, of course, they were not in the least impressed or affected, and which, while it was the only thing that rendered their salvation possible, contributed nothing toward the accomplishment of that salvation in their own souls !

This doctrine we regard as unreasonable, unscriptural, unsafe, and enormous. Yet this is the doctrine which may be seen through all the forms and disguises of the popular view of the atonement. We ask the advocates of that view to ponder it. We call them soberly to consider, what they are alleging ; that a just and merciful Being cannot forgive sin, though repented of and forsaken, by virtue of any attributes or will of his own, any principles of his government or purposes of his creation, but must do it, if at all, solely through the expiatory sacrifice of an innocent infinite being. We acknowledge cheerfully, that all Trinitarians do not say this, and that some in high places disclaim it. Dr. Magee expressly disclaims it, both for himself and for the whole English Church ; and though we doubt his authority to speak thus for all, we rejoice that he finds any reason for the declaration : — “ That men *could* not have been forgiven, unless Christ had suffered to purchase their



forgiveness, is no part of the doctrine of the atonement, as held by the Church of England." Yet every man who has looked into the history of doctrines, knows that this has been the opinion of a great portion of Christians from an early day, and that it enters essentially, however unconsciously, into all Calvinistic creeds and sentiments. It is indeed the only material point in dispute, on this subject. The fact of the atonement, the efficacy of Christ's death, are admitted by all. But those of whom we speak go far beyond its efficacy, and insist upon its necessity, a necessity resulting, not from the nature of man, but from the nature of God; and, therefore, on God, not on man, are the sufferings of Christ to take effect. They may have, they do have, an effect on man; but they would not have this effect, or it would not avail, had they not first made satisfaction to God, and reconciled his conflicting attributes, permitting him to be merciful, or, as it seems to us, *making* him merciful. We feel authorized to place this last emphasis, by language common in the old writers, and not unknown now; for we find it, to our surprise, even in so rational and elevated a writer as Dr. Wayland. Speaking of the change produced in the government of God by the death of Christ, he says: "Salvation is now as free to the human race as condemnation. If any one perish now, he has no one to blame but himself. The throne of God is now a mercy-seat."\* The time has been, then, when God's throne was *not* a mercy-seat. The time has been, when salvation was *not* as free as condemnation, and when the perishing sinner could blame some one beside himself. And *whom* could he blame? We tremble to think what the answer must be.

This whole view rests upon an assumed fact and false reasoning. The assumption is, that justice in God requires every sin to be fully punished, whatever the disposition or conduct of the sinner afterward. Can this be proved? Is there aught in nature or Scripture to sustain it? Does justice in man require that every debt be paid, before the debtor can be released? Justice may require it, but it may also remit it. It may punish, it may, and often does, forgive. And Christ has taught us to ask our Father in heaven, to "forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." There is not only the prayer, but the promise. "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." Indeed, had we time to refer particularly to Scripture, we should ask, with still greater boldness, where is the doctrine in question sustain-

---

\* Wayland's Discourses, p. 178.

ed there? Where does the assumption just stated find a single passage to lean upon, or a legitimate inference to give it favor? If the Bible throughout does not teach the original, essential, perfect placability of God, it is to us an unintelligible book. — “Thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness” — contains an assurance, which the law and the Prophets repeat in every variety of form. An Apostle teaches the same, in words seemingly written to refute the very error before us. “If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins” — where it is not merely mercy that forgives, but faithfulness and justice. The teaching, life, and character of our Saviour, are full, are eloquent in exhibiting the free mercy and unalterable placability of God. The parable of the prodigal son is enough, if not another line had been written.

We know there is an answer to all this. It is said to be itself the effect of the atonement, either in anticipation or consequence, so that no force is allowed to our reasoning. But force must be allowed to the word of God. And we challenge any man to find a syllable in the word of God, authorizing such an answer, or such a perversion of the plainest and strongest language. If the Scriptures do not teach that sin always has been, and always will be, forgiven on repentance, independently of the mode in which repentance is produced, it cannot be taught in human phrase. You cannot express that truth, if it is not expressed again and again in the Bible. You cannot refute, you will not deny, the position, that repentance is there made the condition of forgiveness, as clearly and emphatically as words can do it; or rather, we should say, repentance with obedience, for mentally we always connect them. These constitute the first condition of acceptance ever named in Scripture. God said unto Cain, “If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door.” Remember all the promises to the chosen people of full blessing on these same terms. Remember that beautiful passage in the 55th chapter of Isaiah: “Let the wicked forsake his way, &c.” Remember and reperuse the whole of the 18th chapter of Ezekiel, and invent a meaning for such an assurance as this: “When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.” Turn to the New Testament. What was the preaching of John? Re-

penitance. Of Christ? Repentance. Of Peter and Paul? "Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ." Are we told that this last clause subverts our whole reasoning? How? Does faith in Christ necessarily mean faith in certain views of his death? That again is an assumption. But grant it. Whatever that faith be, it is to affect the sinner only, and lead him to repentance as the only condition of pardon. Let it be observed, too, that repentance and forgiveness are often connected with each other, and with the sufferings of Christ, as the very purpose of those sufferings. We can give but one passage, but that is from Christ himself after his death, and is one of the few cases in which he speaks directly of his own sufferings: "Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." Repentance and remission of sins! Let them never be separated. Let them be presented and weighed, as the great objects to be accomplished by the life and death of Christ. And let others follow the example of such men as Paley and Tillotson, whose view may be seen in the title of a single sermon. Paley has it, — "The Efficacy of the Death of Christ consistent with the Necessity of a Good Life; the one being the cause, the other the condition of salvation." And Tillotson, — "Christ the Author, and Obedience the Condition, of Salvation." If we were to write our creed on this whole subject in a few words, we could hardly find better.

But again we hear objections. First, it is said, as before, that if it be so, it is all by virtue of the atonement alone. We can only reply, as before; It is an assumption; prove it. Secondly, it is said we thus confound repentance with obedience. Do not the Scriptures authorize us, not to confound, but to connect the words as inseparable? Is not the meaning of the original word for repentance, *reformation*, and is not reformation obedience? Such is the teaching of Christ and the Apostles. Such is the teaching of experience and fact. Repentance can be proved only by obedience. If it come short of obedience, it is not thorough repentance. This is clear; and yet we apprehend it is not considered, but is one of those verbal differences which keep alive disputes more than real differences. Trinitarians appear to use the word repentance as synonymous with penitence, denoting only sorrow for sin. Taken in that sense alone, it is evident that it is not, and



cannot be, the condition of salvation. We use it, as we think the Scriptures and reason require, to denote reformation, obedience; and then it is as evident that it is, and must be, the condition of salvation. But, at this point, a third objection meets us. To make repentance, or obedience, a condition of salvation, is to put salvation on the ground of merit. We answer, You might as well say, to make faith a condition of salvation, is to put it on the ground of merit. Faith is as much a personal property as obedience. It is as much an individual act; for faith, all admit, is dead without works. If a man attain salvation by faith in some truth or doctrine, it is as truly his own work, as if he attain it by obedience; and he is as much in danger of being proud of it, and making it a ground of merit or claim. Faith alone is certainly the easiest of all conditions, and the most dangerous. It is only by making it comprise repentance and obedience, that you make it scriptural and guard it from abuse. And, after all, what is this but another dispute about words? What do we mean by a *condition*? We mean that which is essential, that without which the object will not be attained, the promise will not be fulfilled. Now, do not all hold, that obedience is essential? Yes. Can any man be saved without it? No. It is then a condition, if we know the meaning of the word. It is a condition, if any thing you can name is such, and implies as little human merit, and authorizes as little human claim, as any feeling, exercise, opinion, or act. A fourth objection asks, If repentance and obedience are sufficient, where is the need of a Saviour or of an atonement? Why did Christ die? Most plainly, to *produce* repentance and obedience. Christ died, "the just for the unjust, to bring us to God." The other doctrine requires us to read, 'Christ died to bring God to us.' The Apostle says, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." Is not that a sufficient object? Is not the work of reconciliation, the work of faith, repentance, and obedience, great and difficult enough, to call for all the interposition and manifestation, all the miracles and wonders, the promises, threatenings, and sanctions, of the gospel dispensation? Reverse the construction of the above and similar passages, suppose them to mean that 'God was in Christ reconciling himself to the world,' as some systems imply, and we may with reason ask, What is the need of the atonement? Was not God willing always to be reconciled, and able to be reconciled, to his repentant and obedient children?

Could any thing be necessary, except to make them repentant and obedient? And is it for us to say, that such means, such sufferings and sacrifices, such a life and death as Christ's, were not necessary, or cannot be effectual, to bring men to repentance? It were a bold assertion. We prefer to say, with an Apostle, "Christ gave himself for us, to redeem us from all iniquity, and to purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." It may look strange to some, to see "good works" so intimately connected with the sacrifice of Christ, as its very object. But the singularity, if it be such, and the blame, must rest with the Apostle, not with us, though we are very willing to share it. Understanding by "good works," fidelity, obedience, the whole work and duty of the Christian, we have no fear that they will ever be too common, or be made too important. It is easier to despise, than to maintain good works.

But you have not yet met the case, many will tell us. You have not come to the foundation on which our view, and the only true view of the atonement, stands. It is not a doctrine of reason, but of revelation. It is taught in Scripture again and again; and, whether it seem necessary or not, reasonable or otherwise, we will receive it. This is no place to go into the Scripture argument. We know the force of Scripture language on this subject. It is strong. It is peculiar. The death of Christ is spoken of as no other event is. A very solemn importance is ascribed to it. We have no wish to deny that importance; nor should we dare to say, if disposed, that there is no connexion between this event and human salvation, except that of moral influence. Still we see nothing that *requires* a belief in any other connexion or influence. We find a meaning, and as strong a meaning, for all the language of Scripture, on our own scheme, as any. The strongest language ever used is of the kind in which Christ is said to "wash us from our sins in his own blood." Now it is, of course, impossible to understand such language literally. And it is as fair a construction, to suppose it means the moral efficacy of Christ's death in purifying the soul, as to draw from it a literal sacrifice. Peter speaks thus of Christ: "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live to righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed." Here are two of the strongest expressions ever applied to the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, — "bare our sins in his own body on the tree," and "by whose stripes ye were healed"; yet they are

here said to have a purely moral design, — to cause men to die to sin and live to righteousness. The same may be shown of all expressions and figures connected with this subject. There is no fairness, there is no regard to the laws of interpretation, or of charity, in fixing upon them invariably one technical sense, and forgetting or condemning that which is quite as obvious and more consistent. For we ask if any man living believes that the blood of Christ does of itself cleanse from sin, by its own inherent virtue? Has the death of Christ a *necessary* efficacy, a universal and irresistible efficacy? Will it save any man, until it has turned him from sin? Will it save him in any other way, except by turning him from sin? And how can it do this, except by its moral action, like all truth and motive, all sanctions and means, on the conscience and the character? It is remarkable, that all views of the atonement, and all appeals upon it, lead ultimately, if not directly, to this, its moral efficacy. And they all sometimes imply that this moral efficacy is enough. Thus Dr. Wayland, in close connexion with the singular language already borrowed from his discourse on the "Moral Efficacy of the Atonement," speaks of Christ's death in these terms: "The very fact which it reveals, when suitably contemplated, infuses into the soul a moral vigor, by which it rises superior to the thralldom of its lusts, and stands forth in all the loveliness and all the dignity of a new creature in Christ Jesus." Now suppose this effect to be produced in some other way, without an expiatory offering. Will the writer of that passage say it would not be as availing to salvation, or that God could not as freely accept it? Is it the method that God most regards, or the effect which is produced? It will not do to say, that no other means can produce the same effect. Whether that be true or not, it does not reach the difficulty, which lies in the assertion, that God could not pardon in any other way, on any other condition. According to this system, he does not pardon because of the sinner's repentance and submission, but because of Christ's death. And yet, we again ask, did that death ever procure pardon for any one, except by working in him repentance and submission? Is not the whole efficacy conditional? Let Professor Stuart answer: — "Atoning blood, extensive and gratuitous as the favors are which it proffers, never proffers one *unconditionally*. The sinner must be humbled and penitent, who is sprinkled with it." Might he not have added, to be sprinkled with it, is to be humbled and



penitent through its moral power? It is the very purpose, operation, and definition of the sprinkling. And both these writers just quoted prove it, when they insist so much on the marvellous effects that have followed the preaching of Christ crucified; especially in the case of the Moravian missionaries, who made no impression on the Greenlanders by preaching the common truths of religion, until they held up a suffering, bleeding, dying Saviour, — then the effect was immediate and astonishing. Omitting all other remarks on such facts, we have only to say, that we see in them nothing which favors any other views of this subject so much as our own. They prove that the death of Christ is calculated to have, and does have, a prodigious effect on the hearts and consciences of men. We devoutly believe it, and consider it one great purpose, if not the chief efficacy, of that event.

If we have not exhausted all patience, we would consider one other view. It is one that appears to pervade all Calvinistic reasoning on sin and forgiveness, justice and mercy. It may be briefly presented in this form. God is just and true, as well as holy. He has said, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Now, if that soul escape death, if by its own repentance it can avert the threatened punishment, where is the veracity of God, where the dignity or safety of his government? This is the argument. We could not believe sensible men would advance it, had we not so often seen it in their books, and recently heard it from their lips. Its fallacy is twofold. Of God's veracity, it is to be remembered, that, while He has said, "The soul that sinneth shall die," He has also said, "The soul that turneth from its sin shall live." His veracity is pledged for the one assurance as solemnly as for the other. Besides, every one knows, that all the divine promises and threatenings of moral good or evil are conditional. Look at Hezekiah. Look at Nineveh. Look at the many instances in the history of the ancient people, in which God is said to have repented of the evil that he had threatened, and withheld it, on account of the penitence and prayers of individuals or communities. But what are we attempting to establish? — that God will not reject and destroy those who return from their wanderings to serve him. The very attempt seems to us almost profane, and we leave it. But will those who differ from us explain how the difficulty is avoided on their own hypothesis. There stands the sentence, "The soul that sinneth, it shall

die." Christ dies, and that soul is saved. But where is God's veracity? You have but adopted another method of avoiding the same fancied difficulty. You have only supposed another condition to have been annexed to the threatening; with this difference, that your condition was not named, while ours was distinctly announced at every proclamation of the law. "Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin." "Turn yourselves, and live ye."

'But the dignity of God's government and the safety of his kingdom, where are they? It is not safe to forgive sin on repentance. No government can abide such a process. No law can stand. It is not *safe*.' That is, if sinners are forgiven on repentance, all men will repent! Of all superficial reasoning, we cannot recall any that surpasses this. Take it in Dr. Beecher's strong terms. "It is not a subject of momentary doubt, that pardon upon the simple condition of repentance would break the power of every human government on earth." Granted. But would it break the power of the divine government? Pardon upon the simple condition of *faith*, would break all *human* governments. Forgiveness purchased by the sufferings of a *substitute* assuredly would. But let the quotation proceed. "And does God govern the universe, upon principles which would fill the earth with anarchy, and turn it into a hell?"\* If we believed that God governed the world on the principles of vindictive justice and vicarious suffering, the punishment of the innocent to save the guilty, and the punishment of the guilty, though penitent, to save the law, — we should fear to answer that bold question. And if a question can be framed, that will go to the conviction of a Calvinist and the destruction of Calvinism, it would seem to be such an one as this. On the other hand, we do not see what kind of anarchy would follow the forgiveness of any who had forsaken their sins. Let earth be filled by those who have been induced by the Gospel to turn from Satan to God, and it would present a scene unlike any that we have supposed to be intended by "a hell."

One of two radical errors infects all such reasoning. Either it is supposed, that repentance means only sorrow for sin without a change of character, or it is forgotten that there is an infinite difference between human and divine systems, perfect and imperfect knowledge or power. The first error has been

---

\* Beecher's Sermon on the "Gospel according to Paul."

noticed, and is too palpable to detain us. The second is common even with good writers and otherwise acute reasoners. Mr. Abbott covers many pages with the case of Dr. Dodd, to show, that, notwithstanding his previous character, his deep contrition, the universal sympathy, and countless petitions for mercy, that unhappy man could not be pardoned because it was not *safe*; and the inference seems to be, that it is never safe for God to pardon an unpunished offence, however deeply repented of. Here things finite and infinite are confounded. Human and divine laws have entirely different objects; the first, to protect the community, the last, to impress and purify the heart. And it is singular, that Mr. Abbott, who well defines the difference in another place, did not see its application here. In truth, this writer has overturned his own reasoning, by the simple remark and the all-important distinction, — “Dodd was not punished for guilt, he was punished for crime.” It is so with human governments always. They deal with crime; God deals with guilt. They look to the act; God to the motive. They arraign the hand; God the heart. A man may meditate murder; can the law reach him, can men touch him, if he do not commit it? God can reach him, and will judge him. So of forgiveness. Human governments never forgive in the sense in which God forgives. They cannot. They may release from prison and corporal punishment. But God releases from guilt and its sting. For this he has graciously interposed, — to deliver us, not from vengeance, but from guilt. For this Christ lived and died, — to save us from our sins, not from sanguinary justice. “He shall save his people from their sins.” He came to remove the cause, more than the consequences. Salvation itself is deliverance from sin, rather than from its effects, for some of them must follow it. Forgiveness is remission of sins, and sins cannot be remitted unless they are forsaken.\*

Let men think of their sins. Let them see in their own guilt the only obstacle to forgiveness and salvation. There is no obstacle, there never was, there never can be, in the character or laws of God. There is no obstacle in the promises or threatenings of the Gospel. It is SIN, and nothing else. Let the promises and threatenings of the Gospel, the truth of God, the life and death of Jesus, rebuke this sin, — awe, subdue, melt it into submission, penitence, and obedience. With these forgiveness comes. In these there is salvation. Christ died,



not to make God willing or able to forgive, but to make man capable of being forgiven. "God, having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." Christ "died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again."

---

**ART. II. — *Manual Hebrew Grammar. For the Use of Beginners.* By J. SEIXAS. Second Edition.**

WE recently invited the attention of our readers to some remarks on the classical instruction of boys; and we embrace this occasion to continue the subject, in connexion with the book, the title of which we have given above. We take this method, because the principles on which Mr. Seixas's Grammar is made deserve an attentive examination, and will serve to introduce some remarks on the study of the elements of Latin and Greek grammar. No apology is necessary for bringing the subject of classical instruction repeatedly before our readers. The amount of time wasted by the young in this department of study ought to awaken the attention of all who have ability and opportunity to examine the subject. Every step in the course of classical instruction should be investigated, till the faults of the prevailing system are discovered and corrected.

A favorable opinion of Mr. Seixas's Grammar was expressed in our pages on the appearance of the first edition of the work. The commendations then given need not be here repeated. — Preparatory to the remarks which follow, however, we would say, that the method pursued in this Grammar, and the principles on which the method is founded, are widely different from those of most grammars, and are, we believe, demonstrably correct.

We proceed to exhibit the method employed in this Grammar, compared with the method of grammars in general use; and then, to examine the principles on which these methods respectively are based.

The first peculiarity noticeable, on opening the Hebrew Grammar before us, is the absence of paradigms. This pecu-

liarity constitutes the leading characteristic of the work, and to this our attention will be principally directed. For the convenience of our readers, as well as to subserve the main object of our remarks, we shall take our illustrations of Mr. Seixas's method and principles from the Latin Grammar.

We will suppose, then, a Latin Grammar put in our hands, made on the same principles as the Hebrew Grammar before us. Its chief peculiarity, at first view, is that it has no paradigms. Before judging of the expediency of an omission apparently so important, it is proper to inquire, what substitute is provided to answer the same end?

Instead of paradigms, we find *tables of terminations*, indicative of the relations and circumstances of the words to which they are attached. To illustrate: in nouns of the first declension, instead of repeating the series, *penna*, *pennæ*, &c., through all the cases and both numbers, the terminations simply are given, as, *a*, *æ*, *am*, *arum*, *as*, &c., to indicate respectively the relation in which the thing expressed stands in different places. Thus, *arum* signifies *of*, and also expresses the plural number. When this is understood by the pupil, the word *pennarum* is instantly rendered *of pens*, without going through the process of declension from the nominative singular, till he comes to the given form. The association is direct between *arum* the termination, and *of*, which it always indicates. It is not the least of the advantages of this method that it leaves the teacher at liberty to bring before his pupil only one or two of the most common terminations, and those expressive of the simplest relations, at first, leaving the more difficult ones to be learned, after practice has made the easier ones perfectly familiar. But on this point we shall speak more particularly in another place. Let us pursue the illustration we had begun, by means of the *verb*.

The paradigm, which in the Latin verb contains near two hundred forms, is omitted. Its place is supplied by a table, giving the various terminations which indicate the circumstances of the action. Thus the pupil, when he meets with a verb, the number, person, &c. of which he does not instantly recognise; instead of being sent to hunt through the labyrinth of hundreds of forms, till, haply, he lights on the form corresponding to the one in his lesson, is taught to look directly at the termination, and to associate, directly with it, its proper signification. Thus in *legimus*, for example, the termination

is *mus*; and this at the end of a Latin verb always means *we*. Let *curantur* be the given word. The pupil has learned that the termination *nt*, or *ntur*, means they, and the translation is done. *Legit* means he, or she reads, because from the table the pupil has learned that the termination *t*, or *tur*, signifies he, or she. The application of this method in determining the number and person of verbs is obviously very easy. An objection to the system, as a whole, may, perhaps, be stated in the form of an inquiry, how the *mode* and *tense* are to be determined.

We answer, In the same manner as the number and person; by knowing what is the appropriate sign of each mode and tense, and where these signs are to be found. The pupil is taught that the letters and syllables, which indicate the mode and tense, immediately precede the termination which indicates the number and person. Thus *ba*, preceding the termination, indicates the imperfect tense: *ama-t*, he loves; *ama-ba-t*, he was loving. *Docebant* is analyzed into three parts: *doce-ba-nt*, each of which parts has its appropriate signification; and if the pupil has learned the forms in the appropriate table, his eye no sooner rests on the word than the analysis is made, and the meaning of the whole word given. We do not here enter into the question, whether the parts into which the verb is divided, in this analysis, were originally distinct words. This question, however interesting in a philosophical study of etymology, has no connexion with our present design.

We have pursued the analysis of verbs sufficiently to point out the track which we follow. Every variety of circumstance and relation has its appropriate indication, and this indication occupies its own place in the verb, which it never changes. — The system under review teaches the pupil to look for each element in its appropriate place, and to associate directly with it the English word, or syllable, which expresses its meaning.

We have already sufficiently expressed our approbation of the method sketched above; and we now proceed to an examination of the principles on which it is founded. We enter on this part of the subject with an earnestness, we beg leave to say, which has been awakened by some toil and experience in classical instruction, and with a confidence resulting from a successful application of the principles we advocate.

What is requisite, then, in order to learn a foreign language? First, to know the words of the language to be learned; and



then, to associate, with each word, the vernacular word, or words expressing the same meaning. This is the whole process, so far as the subject before us is concerned. The translation of idioms belongs to a higher department of grammar than is embraced in this discussion. Let it be distinctly kept in mind that the process of learning a language is simply that of associating, with the successive words of the language to be acquired, the vernacular words expressing the same meaning. It need not be said that the more direct and unincumbered the association is, the more rapid and pleasant will be the acquisition.

The method detailed above is an application of these principles in their simplest form. The association is direct, between each element of the foreign language and the corresponding word in the vernacular.

The correctness of this principle might be shown, if necessary, by reference to other branches of study. Every art and science, if taught rightly, must be taught in its simplest elements. We should hardly be excusable for dwelling on a point so plain, were it not for its great importance. To make it, however, as clear as possible, we beg leave to draw an illustration from the same department of study in which we now are. Every one, in any degree acquainted with the Greek or German language, knows the great advantage to be derived, in acquiring these languages, from analyzing compound and derivative words into their first elements, and arriving at the meaning of the words through the medium of this analysis. The method of teaching grammatical forms, exhibited above, is only a further application of the same principle. Objections are sometimes made to this method of teaching grammatical forms, under the impression that boys cannot be made to remember the forms without the supposed aid of paradigms. The objection would not deserve serious notice, were it not that intelligent men, and experienced teachers even, have proposed it. Of what possible use, we ask, is the association which connects words in the order in which they are given in a paradigm, an order in which they never occur in reading the language. That a boy may remember that *amamus* means *we love*, must he be made to think of *amo*, *amas*, *amat*, first? On this system the first person singular is made a talisman to call up a whole series, only one of which has any duty to perform on the occasion. They wake at the watch-word, troop through

the brain in regular file, and depart. Such a habit is formed in the first stage of study, and is continued, till long practice in reading the language has worn it away. Why is such a habit formed? we ask. Is the mind a machine, and that so ill constructed that, in order to perform a certain amount of work, it must perform as much more besides, losing half its power from friction, and from the luggage of useless wheels? Why, we ask again, is the habit of which we have spoken ever formed at all?

It is said that, in every branch of learning, elements must be committed to memory, which, in more advanced stages, may be forgotten.

We answer, that what we speak of is no element of the Latin language. The connexion of the first person singular with the second person singular, as *amo* with *amas*, never occurred since the days of Romulus. To impose on the pupil the task of committing to memory a series of words which have no natural connexion, is as absurd as to require him to commit the columns of a dictionary.

The error here pointed out lies at the foundation of much of the disgust at the ancient languages felt by boys in their early studies; a disgust, which, in its remote effects, will, to a great extent, explain the almost total neglect of these languages by our educated men after leaving college.

We might here close our remarks, did not justice require a statement of some further advantages connected with the system of which we have spoken. We said a few words on this point, in the early part of our remarks, and promised to speak more fully in another place. A leading defect in the usual method of instruction is, that the pupil is obliged, at the commencement of his studies, to learn much that he has no occasion to apply in practice, till he is somewhat advanced in his course. In the simple narratives first put into his hands, almost all the verbs are in the *third person*. Common sense would direct that this termination should be first taught him, leaving the terminations of the other persons, till practice has made him perfectly familiar with that which is most common. The same remarks may be made respecting the modes. Simple sentences exhibit only the indicative mode. This mode, then, should be first taught, and its forms made perfectly familiar. The usual method, however, instead of conducting the pupil step by step, and giving him time to dwell on each till

he is master of it, plunges him, at once, into number, gender, and case, in nouns, the agreement of adjectives with nouns; and into the labyrinth of all the conjugations of the verbs, in each of which are to be learned mode, tense, person, and number; to say nothing of some hundred forms of the pronouns, crowding on the learner at every turn.

The mischiefs of this course may, indeed, be in a measure avoided by a judicious teacher, but, with the books in present use, it must be done under great disadvantages; and, besides, it is too much to expect, or to require, teachers to adopt a course contrary to the whole plan on which the text-books of their profession are made. The evils spoken of will continue, then, with few exceptions, so long as grammars are what they now are.

It is hardly necessary to say, that the plan proposed above relieves the teacher from the necessity, and almost from the opportunity, of pursuing this unnatural method. The pupil's mind may be first directed to those elements which are necessary in order to understand single words, and the simplest combinations. The memory need not be burdened with a single form, which his lessons in reading do not give him occasion to use.

We did not design to occupy the reader's time with the details of instruction; but the occasion seems too favorable to omit indicating, as briefly as possible, the outlines of a course of elementary instruction in the languages.

It is obvious that the names of things should be the first objects of study in acquiring a language. The first observation, in this connexion, is, that only the most obvious relations of things should first be brought to view. Taking our illustration from the Latin, after learning the form of the nominative case, in both numbers, the form of the genitive case should be learned, and no other case should be introduced till considerable practice has made these two perfectly familiar, and has given the pupil ready command of every form of their combination. At this stage of study, the form of adjectives, of the nominative and genitive case, and their agreement with nouns should be learned, and made familiar by practice. The way is then open for the introduction of verbs, of which only the forms of the indicative mode and of the third person should be first learned; delaying any notice of the subjunctive mode, till familiarity with the principal



forms and the construction of the simple sentence shall prepare the way for combining sentences, when the subjunctive mode may be introduced, with its appropriate particles.

After the forms of the indicative mode are made familiar, an *object* may be *connected* with the verb, and this is the proper time to introduce the accusative case. Introduced in this way, its relation to the verb is at once seen; the pupil will need no rule to teach him the design and appropriate situation of the accusative case.

After the relation of the accusative case with the verb has been learned, and the application of it made familiar by practice, the ablative case may be learned, expressing the instrument, manner, time, &c.; and then the dative may be introduced, as expressing the indirect object, or the person, to or for whom a thing is done.

The process, pursued thus far, leaves the pupil at the point where, according to a previous suggestion, the subjunctive mode, with its appropriate connectives may be introduced. This course, it is evident, will obviate much of the difficulty, which beginners feel, in the construction of the particles appropriate to the subjunctive mode.

Prepositions, with the cases which belong to them, may be learned better, perhaps, before the subjunctive mode, than after it. Pronouns may be introduced, by degrees, in connexion with nouns.

We shall enter into no further detail of the method of teaching the elements of language. To those who see the principles embodied in the preceding sketch, further detail would be unnecessary; and for others, the little which our limits would permit us to say would be insufficient.

We are not without hopes that the foregoing remarks will afford some assistance to those classical teachers who are aiming at something higher than a salary merely; and we shall be happy, if the hints we have given shall be the means of expediting, in any degree, the desired improvements in our books of elementary classical instruction.

ART. III. — *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry.* By J. G. HERDER. Translated from the German by JAMES MARSH. In two volumes. 12mo. 1833. Burlington.

THE poetry of Germany, with the other branches of its elegant literature, has begun to receive in our mother country some degree of the attention, which is due to the products of the genius and culture of a kindred nation. Within a few years past, they have been rescued from the hands of incompetent translators and anonymous critics, who seem to have been impelled to their literary undertakings by no other motive than that of hunger, and made the subject of profound and generous study. The race of such interpreters as Taylor of Norwich appears to be passing away; and there is reason to hope that such monuments of prejudice and narrow-mindedness, to say nothing of scanty and superficial information, as his "*Historic Survey of Germany Poetry*," will not often be imposed on the good nature of unsuspecting readers.\* Under the auspices of sound and liberal scholars, like Carlyle, Hayward, and Mrs. Austin, the English public are in a fair way of obtaining access to the literary treasures of their Teutonic neighbours; and even we, who are not within the borders of European cultivation, may hope to receive some share of the spoils.

We cannot make so favorable a report of the prospects of German Theology. Neither that, nor any of the various schools of philosophy, which have sprung up in Germany, within the last fifty years, has received tolerable justice at the hands of English scholars. We are by no means in possession of the results produced by the intense and powerful action of the masterly intellects, which have been directed to those interesting subjects, since the skepticism of Hume spread a general alarm, and awakened the adherents of a traditional faith to inquiry and examination. It is rather singular, that, in our own country, where a zeal for religion and a love of speculation, form a part of our birthright, we should have given so little attention to the labors of others, who have explored every part of the field on which we are employed ourselves. It is said that the great points, which have been made the subject

---

\* See note at the end of this article.

of theological discussion among us, the nature and evidences of revelation, the foundation of religion in the human soul, the character of Christianity, the connexion between Jesus Christ and God, the hope of immortality, have been so thoroughly discussed by the divines and philosophers of Germany, that there is hardly a theory or a doctrine that has not been examined; and it would not be extravagant to believe, that, amid the comparison of so many opinions, by men of learning and sense, some light would be struck out, that would well repay the trouble of giving it an attentive consideration. We are by no means so enthusiastic as to suppose, that a knowledge of German theology would settle any controversies now pending; but we think it very possible, that a sober examination of its achievements might present some facts or points of view, which would be of service to us in our inquiries, although they had escaped our notice in the course of our own personal studies. At any rate, the massive learning, which we believe it is universally admitted the German theologians possess, might be of great use to many of us, who are so involved in the practical business of life, as to have little opportunity for original investigation, but who still like to be informed as to what wise men have thought before us.

On this account, we rejoice in any step that is taken towards a deeper insight into the theological literature of Germany. We think it is well not to be quite ignorant of what a nation of thinkers, of the same good old Saxon stock with ourselves, have been doing for half a century, in the most important of human concerns. If any fear evil to our faith or morals from such knowledge, they will perhaps be quieted with the assurance that the "antidote" flows from the same fountain with the "bane,"—that if startling errors have been maintained by German theologians, it is also by German theologians that these errors have been assailed and put down.

With such impressions of the value of German writers on theology, we certainly welcomed the appearance of the work selected by Professor Marsh for translation. It has been a common fault to translate obsolete or indifferent works of second-rate writers. Our ideas on German theology are often formed from such imperfect specimens. This fault has been avoided by Professor Marsh. The author he has selected, is on many accounts, one of the most interesting he could have taken. Herder is one of the great historical names in Ger-



man literature. His theological works are a treasure of learning, refined from the dross and base admixtures of the mine, and wrought up into the most beautiful and winning forms. It is seldom that we meet with a writer, whose soul is so penetrated with the true spirit of antiquity, and who is so capable of bringing up the faded past in vivid reality before the eye. "It seems, in reading him," says Madame de Staël, "as if we were walking in the midst of the old world with an historical poet, who touches the ruins with his wand and erects anew all the fallen edifices." He brings to his subject a freshness, a gushing enthusiasm, which spreads a charm over the driest details, and reminds us more of the eloquent conversation of a friend than of the learned discussions of a critic. Every thing is in motion, every thing has life, he is never languid himself, and he never permits languor in others; and we are led on from page to page of profound learning, of curious research, of wide and scholar-like investigation, with as little feeling of satiety or fatigue, as if we were reading a fascinating novel. He is unrivalled in the power of giving a picturesque beauty to the most barren subjects, so that the wilderness springs up into bloom and luxuriance under his magic touch. ✓ His own pure and noble spirit breathes through his productions. They seem to bring us into the presence of the author, where we hear his deep and thrilling voice, gaze upon his serene brow, and receive a revelation of his inmost heart. We cannot read them without knowing and loving the mind, from whose inspiration they proceeded. The great object of his life was the spiritual elevation of humanity; and, in his view, the means of its accomplishment was to infuse the spirit of Christ and his religion into the hearts of men. ✓ Such fervent love of man, such deep sympathy with Christ, such filial and noble conceptions of the great Father of all, are rarely united in any character; and these are so distinctly impressed on the whole face of his writings, that, in reading them, we feel that we are enjoying the intimate communion of an exalted and holy mind.

Herder was strongly attached to the poetry of the Old Testament. He delighted to wander in the spicy groves of the East, but the rose of Sharon was more to him than all the trees of the wood. One of his most important and characteristic works, which was the dream of his youth, and the labor of his mature years, though left at last in an unfinished state,

is the "Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," of which Professor Marsh has given us a Translation. We ought to feel indebted to the literary enterprise and industry of an American scholar in undertaking and completing such a difficult task. Of the merits of the original work; it is not our purpose to say any thing here; but we are compelled to observe, that they find a very inadequate representation in this translation. In justice to Herder it ought to be stated, that he suffers much under the hands of Professor Marsh. The vivacity and animation which breathe from every page of the original are evaporated in the translation. The spirited and graceful style of Herder, in the composition of this work, would hardly be recognised in the new costume which is given to his thoughts. In several instances, which have fallen under our eye, we think that the translator has not rightly apprehended his author's meaning, or through haste or inadvertence has failed of expressing it distinctly. He often overlays the breathing life of the original with a thick shroud of words. In the translation of a less favorite author we should have been disposed perhaps to pardon even greater defects; but we are unwilling that a man like Herder should be judged of from an imperfect specimen, without pointing out its discrepancy with the original.\*

---

\* In the above criticisms on this translation, we have no wish to detract from its real merits. Many passages of difficult construction are rendered with a beauty and force, which none but a person of uncommon skill in the use of language could have attained. We think it far superior to most attempts at translation from German into English which we have seen, especially of those made in this country; and parts of it are certainly creditable to the taste and ability of Professor Marsh. But we cannot think, that it gives the reader so complete an idea of Herder, as should be aimed at in a work of such importance. In proof of our remarks, we subjoin a few passages, which will show the nature of our objections to the translation.

We take first the beautiful introduction to the second Dialogue.

"Die Morgenröthe war noch nicht angebrochen, als die beiden Freunde sich am bestimmten Ort, einer angenehmen Höhe von schöner Aussicht, zusammenfanden. Noch sahen sie alles formlos und in den Schleier der Nacht gehüllt vor sich liegen; da regte sich der Hauch der Nacht, und es erschien die liebliche Morgenröthe. Sie ging hervor, wie der Blick Gottes auf eine zu erneuende Erde; um sie schwebte die Herrlichkeit des Herrn und weihte den Himmel zu seinem prächtigen stillen Tempel. Je mehr sie sich erhob, je mehr hob und läuterte sich das goldne Blau; es sonderte sich von den Wassern, Nebel und Dünsten, die zur Erde fielen, bis es wie ein

There is no one among the theologians of Germany, who occupies a more interesting position, in the great religious movement, which commenced in that country, about the middle of the last century, than Herder. He formed a connecting link between the old school of Lutheran Orthodoxy and the modern school of Rational divines. The progress of his own mind seems, in some degree, to mark the progress of

himmlischer Ocean, wie ein Sapphir mit Golde durchwebt, dastand. Je mehr sie sich erhob, desto mehr hob sich die Erde; es theilten sich auf ihr die dunklen Massen, bis auch sie wie eine Braut dastand, geschmückt mit Kräutern und Blumen, und wartend auf den Segen Jehovens. Die Seele des Menschen heitert sich wie der Morgenhimmel; sie hebt sich aus dem Schlaf, wie die jungfräuliche Erde; keiner aber dieser angenehmen Augenblicke ist heiliger, als das Werden des Lichts, der Anbruch der Dämmerung."

The nearly literal translation which we subjoin of this and the following passages will help our readers to judge of the correctness of our strictures on Professor Marsh.

*The morning dawn had not yet broke, when the two friends met at the appointed spot, a delightful eminence that commanded a beautiful prospect. As yet they saw every thing lie before them formless, and shrouded in the veil of night. Then the night-breeze stirred and the lovely dawn appeared. It came forth, like the glance of God, upon the earth, as it waited to be renewed. The glory of the Lord hovered around it, and consecrated the heavens as his magnificent and peaceful temple. As it rose higher and higher, the firmament of gold and blue rose also, and became purer; it separated itself from the waters, clouds, and vapors, which fell to the earth, until it stood there like a heavenly ocean, a sapphire interwoven with gold. As the dawn arose, the earth also seemed to rise. Its dark masses were divided, until it stood forth like a bride adorned with herbage and flowers, awaiting the blessing of Jehovah. The soul of man grows serene like the morning-heavens. It arises from sleep like the virgin earth, but none of these delightful moments is more holy than that of the approach of light, the breaking forth of the dawn.*

*Professor Marsh's Translation.* "The first rays of the dawn were not yet visible, when the two friends found themselves together at an appointed spot, a delightful eminence, that furnished a wide and beautiful prospect. They saw before them all the objects of nature lying yet formless and undistinguished, for the night had wrapped them up in its veil of obscurity. But soon the night-breeze sprang up, and the morning appeared in its loveliness. Its going forth was as if the Almighty had cast a reviving look upon the earth and renovated its existence; while his glory accompanied it and consecrated the heavens as his magnificent and peaceful temple. The higher it rose, the more elevated and serene appeared the golden firmament, that gradually purified itself from the subsiding waters, clouds, and vapors, till it stood displayed, as an upper ocean, an expanse of sapphire interwoven with gold. In the same manner also the earth seemed to rise up before them. Its dark masses became distinguished, and at length it stood forth like a bride adorned with herbage and flowers and waiting for



theological opinion ; and in his voluminous writings may be found the germ of most of the important thoughts, which have since produced such a mighty revolution in the prevalent conceptions of religion. The personal character of Herder was, moreover, singularly attractive and delightful. It combined many of the remarkable peculiarities of the German temperament with a certain English spirit of practical energy, which,

the blessing of Jehovah. The soul of man elevates and purifies itself like the morning sky ; it wakes and rouses itself from slumber like the virgin earth ; but at no moment is the delightful view attended with such sacred awe as at the first existence of light, the breaking forth of the dawn."

The above is one of the happiest specimens of Professor Marsh's Translation. It has, however, too many words, and is not free from errors. "*Läutern*," to purify, is translated "to be serene"; and "*heiter*," to make serene, is translated "to purify." The words occur in different sentences, but they are mistaken for each other.

Turning back to the "Plan of the Work," Vol. I. p. 13, we find "*nachforschen*," to inquire after, to investigate, translated "to cherish a liberal curiosity." On the same page, "*vorläufig*," preliminary, is translated "prolonged." Probably mistaken for "*weitläufig*."

Page 14. "*Welche Ideen der Vorwelt er weiter geführt oder verändert.*" (It points out) *what ideas of the former world he has carried out or changed.* Translated, "It points out, what conceptions, transmitted from more ancient times, he adopted and practically applied, and what he altered in this legacy of the Patriarchs."

Ibid. "*Wodurch er die Poesie dieser Nation zu einer Hirten- und Landespoesie, zu einer Stimme des Heiligthums und der Propheten gebildet.*" *By what means he formed the poetry of this nation to be a pastoral and rural poetry, to be a voice of the sanctuary and of the Prophets.* Translated, "By what means he formed the poetry of the nation, gave it its pastoral and rural character, and consecrated it to the uses of the sanctuary and of the Prophets of Jehovah." Herder never wrote such balanced sentences. The figure of the voice, so characteristic of his mode of thinking, is lost in the translation.

Ibid. "*Die Ursachen dieser Dinge werden aus der Geschichte entwickelt.*" *The causes of these things are unfolded from the history.* Translated, "The causes, by which these effects were brought about, are unfolded out of the history of the race."

Ibid. "*Es wird sodann die Geschichte selbst vom Gesetzgeber bis zum blühendsten und mächtigsten König des Volks fortgeleitet, unter welchem und dessen Sohne auch die zweite Blüthe der Poesie eintritt.*" *The history itself is then carried forward from the Lawgiver to the most flourishing and powerful king of the people, under whom and his son the second bloom of poetry appears.* Translated, "In the next place, the history itself is carried forward from Moses to the period of the highest national prosperity and of the most powerful king, under whom and his son occurred the second marked developement [!] of national poetry."

Ibid. "*In ihr morgenländisches Licht gesetzt.*" *Placed in their*

taken together, formed a more instructive and beautiful specimen of human nature, than is usually met with in the intercourse of life. Herder has been described by one of his biographers as "the grand high Priest of Humanity, the unwearied seeker of spiritual Truth and Beauty," and as such, we intend to avail ourselves of this opportunity, to bring his personal character and services before our readers, with as minute a detail as our limits will permit. \*

*Oriental light.* Translated, "Placed in that true Oriental light, which is necessary to a perception of their beauties."

Page 18. "Rechter Verstand der Worte, Bilder und Sachen giebt denen, die Gefühl haben, ohne viele Rede und Anpriesung, Begriff der Schönheit." *A right understanding of words, of images, and of things, gives the conception of beauty to those who have feeling, without much discourse and commendation.* Translated, "A right understanding of words, of figurative language, and of things, will give, without long discourses and a tedious explication of it, the conception of beauty to one who has the capability of emotion." "Anpriesung," *commendation*, is translated "a tedious explication."

Page 22. "Der schönen Sonne Aufgang." *The rising of the beautiful sun.* Translated, "The beautiful going forth of the sun in his milder radiance." Not to speak of eleven words for four, "Aufgang" is mistaken for "Ausgang." "Aufgehen," the original of "Aufgang," signifies to "go up," — hence "to arise," applied to the heavenly bodies. It never means "to go forth," which is one sense of "ausgehen."

Ibid. "Am höchsten Himmel." *In the highest heaven.* Translated, "In the highest heavens, and in meridian splendor." The last clause corresponds to nothing in the original, and enfeebles the whole sentence.

Page 23. "Aufgehen" is again translated "to come forth to us," instead of "to arise upon us." The beauty of the allusion is wholly lost.

Page 33. "Sie sind ganz Handlung und Bewegung; die Wurzeln derselben sind Bild und Empfindung." (The Hebrew verbs) *are all action and motion; their roots are image and feeling.* Translated, "They are all action and emotion. Their radical forms combine the representation of a sensuous image with the feeling of the heart." "Bewegung" is translated "emotion," instead of "motion." The rest of the sentence is a rare example of prolixity. Herder's spirit is not in it.

The passages which we have quoted are within the compass of a few pages, taken at random from the commencement of the first volume. We have examined other parts of both volumes, with the intention of testing their fidelity, and usually with similar results. Still, we do not hesitate to repeat, that although open to criticism, this translation exhibits a high order of talent, and deserves a place in the library of every lover of the Old Testament.

\* The materials for Herder's Life may be found in "*Erinnerungen*"

JOHN GODFREY HERDER was born on the 25th of August, 1744, at Mohrungen, a small village in the kingdom of East Prussia. His parents occupied a humble station in society, although one which exerted a favorable influence in many respects on the future character of their son. Godfrey Herder, his father, was the teacher of a female school, and united the offices of sexton and chorister in the village church at Mohrungen. He was a man of a serious and reserved cast of character, severely punctilious in the discharge of his duties, but of a kind and generous disposition. His mother, the daughter of a mechanic, appears to have been a woman endowed with uncommon natural gifts, and, as has often been remarked in the case of men of genius, many of her most distinguished qualities were inherited by her son. She possessed a strong understanding, sound judgment, industrious and quiet habits, and a rare union of piety and maternal affection with manners not often found in her station in life.

This wedded pair lived upon a small income, poor but not destitute; and by the order and regularity of their household, by their constant industry, and by their unostentatious and pious course of life, gained the esteem of all their acquaintance. A strong attachment to the religion of their fathers, habits of industry and order in the despatch of business, and a sincere mutual love, united the parents and children, brothers and sisters, of this family in the closest ties, and greatly alleviated the burden of their poverty.

After the labors of the day were over, the family were accustomed to unite in singing a hymn. The impression which this pious evening-song made on the mind of young Herder, was deep and lasting; and, many years after, he would often mention it, with sad and tender yearnings at the remembrance of his youthful home. The pious habits of his parents, their deep religious feeling, their simple, quiet, and industrious mode of life, their home-felt satisfaction in the performance of their duties, and their devoted love for each other, united with his own child-like reverence for their characters, early implanted in his heart the germ of religion and of the love of virtue. In this retired, domestic Paradise, hedged in with the thorns of

---

*aus dem Leben von Herder. Gesammelt und beschrieben von Maria-Carolina von Herder.* 21, 22, 23 Th. *Sämmtliche Werke.* Stuttgart. 1830. — "*Herder's Leben, neuarbeitet von Carl Ludwig Ring.*" Carlsruhe. 1832. — Prefaces and Notes in "*Herder's Sämmtliche Werke, von Johann Georg Müller.*" Stuttgart. 1830.



poverty, he was guarded against many of the follies and extravagances of youth. He gratefully acknowledged this beneficial restraint, and only regretted the poverty of his parents, because it deprived him of many advantages for study, and the power of obtaining an education suitable for his nature.

He was instructed in the first rudiments of learning at the public school of Mohrungen, which, at that time, was under the care of a person named Grimm, — a name, which, both in German and English, corresponds to the character of the man. This Grimm was an unmarried man, of solitary and reserved habits, but, in spite of his misanthropy, had gained the reputation of a deserving teacher, on account of his profound learning and unshaken integrity, and, for a long time after his death, was held in unaffected and grateful esteem by many of the inhabitants of Mohrungen.

This early instructor was never mentioned by Herder, but in terms of respect. "Severe as he was," Herder was accustomed to say, "and *grim* as he often looked, I am indebted to him for the foundation of my literary knowledge. He insisted, with inexorable severity, on the learning of the rules of grammar. Whatever was the lesson, he made us read and repeat it, until its complete sense was fixed in the understanding and memory. At every recitation, we were obliged to stand; a good custom, as it increases respect for the master and secures attention from the scholar. He demanded reverence from the scholars, and obtained it in the highest degree; we always took off our hats as soon as we saw him or his house, though at a distance. Notwithstanding the severity of his demands, he freely expressed his satisfaction with the industrious, and allowed some of them, and me among the number, as a peculiar favor, to accompany him on his walk, in pursuit of speedwell and cowslips, for a tea, which formed his daily beverage. I have always since had a love for speedwell and cowslips; they remind me of those walks, and the honor and reward which I received from my never-to-be-forgotten master. Now and then, he invited one or another of the scholars, with whom he wished to express his particular satisfaction, into his study, to partake of a cup of this tea, sweetened with a small lump of sugar; this was a most honorable distinction. With me he was well pleased, paid me much attention, and treated me with great kindness." It would seem that Herder cherished almost too favorable a remembrance of his old master, if we

may judge from the descriptions that are given of him by some of his contemporaries. As they present a lively and rather curious picture of a German schoolmaster in the middle of the last century, it may gratify our readers to see them introduced.

The pastor of the village church, Trescho, whose connexion with Herder we shall soon relate, thus speaks of Grimm. "With his dark complexion, made still darker by a black peruke, his cadaverous face had nothing attractive for children. He was, at that time, between sixty and seventy years old, and something of an invalid; perhaps this prevented him from mingling in society, for he was not entirely wanting in the gift of speaking on important subjects. He possessed extensive knowledge, and was a pattern of diligence in discharging the duties of his office; he would even have devoted a part of the night, had it been permitted him, to the instruction of his scholars. He had learned, by long experience, to forward his young pupils in Latin and partially in Greek, in History and Geography, — but he was more conversant with these as matters of memory, than as calling for the exercise of the judgment and understanding. But his exactness, his love of order, his severity, and his habit of making repeated reviews, caused his scholars to appear well at examinations. For the ennobling of the heart and the improvement of the morals, he did nothing, except by giving the usual instruction on the duties of youth, and never pardoning the slightest immorality. Without the rod and lash, the good man could not help himself. Herein, as he believed, consisted school discipline. He was a man of unimpeached character; yet his excessive severity in school often exposed him to sport and ill-will. The shy and timid manners of young Herder were probably the effect of this school tyranny. His excellent natural disposition preserved him from the rudeness which such discipline produces in boys of a more impetuous spirit; but it gave him, instead, a secret gloom and reserve, almost amounting to mistrust."

A school-mate of Herder gives this description of their early instructor. "Herder's disposition was of a pensive and melancholy cast, and it could not be otherwise, under the restraint and severity which he endured at school. From seven o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening, we were employed with Grimm. Herder always treated the master with the utmost reverence, and was held up by him as an example for the imitation of the school. His uncommonly strong memory,

his power of reflection and of judgment, aided him in making great proficiency in Greek and Hebrew. He appeared to me often to surpass his teacher, while I am not aware that Grimm ever found any thing in him to be improved. In Latin, in which Grimm excelled the most, Herder had acquired uncommon facility. Grimm was extremely rigid and pedantic, and governed only through fear. The rod was rarely out of his hands; and Herder and myself were almost the only pupils who escaped."

Herder himself afterwards expressed his disapprobation of the pedantic mode of instruction pursued by his early master. In one of his writings, composed at sea, he laments that he was subjected to it, and regrets the loss of the far more generous culture, which his mind must have received, under a more practical and intelligent system.

The passion for learning, for which Herder was so much distinguished as a man, was manifested at an early age. He would often bring his book to the table at dinner and supper, though usually rebuked by his father for the practice. His sister relates, that he one day pointed out Italy on the map, and, with indescribable joy, exclaimed, "O, my beloved Italy! to see you myself must one day yet be mine." His love for the ancients had already begun to haunt him. From his childhood he was passionately fond of music. He learned to play upon the harpsichord at school, in company with many of the scholars, who had among them but one small, miserable instrument, which they were obliged to remove from one room to another. With these disadvantages, he acquired a well-grounded knowledge of the principles of music, and a competent skill in its practice.

The enjoyment of nature in the open air, with a book for his companion, was his favorite recreation, and to remembrances of this kind he used to recur with pleasure in after life. He often spoke of his father's garden, and the large cherry tree, on which, in the season of blossoms, with a book in his hand, he had felt so much delight, in listening to the song of the birds. It was here that his soul, full of pure sympathy with nature, and alive to all that is grand and beautiful in the productions of human genius, received those deep impressions of nature and religion, of humanity and spiritual greatness, which were inseparably united in his character. The sublime and inspiring thoughts of the Greeks and Romans, at the same time awaken-



ed in him the noble love of glory, the desire to emulate their virtues, and to become, for his contemporaries and posterity, what they were for theirs.

His favorite walk was on the borders of a picturesque lake called the "Sea of Mohrungeu," which almost surrounds the village, and in a neighbouring wood, which had received the poetical appellation of the "Grove of Paradise." In a little poem entitled "Dreams of my Youth," he has left a sweet and pensive memorial of these scenes of early enjoyment. The feeling with which he read the ancients at that time is expressed in an extract from a letter to his wife, before their marriage, (1771,) in which he says:—"I have enjoyed this beautiful autumn; but it is so melancholy to see every thing yellow and faded and wintry; a race of leaves, which, like the generations of men, when they depart from earth will appear no more. No image, no song, or comparison of youth, has ever impressed me so much as this. I remember when, for the first time, a mere boy, I read the comparison in Homer of the generations of men vanishing away, like the leaves of the spring, I could not refrain from tears."

His desire of knowledge was insatiable. It was not unusual for him, if he saw a book lying on a window as he passed a house, to enter in, and ask to borrow it. He often complained of the want of books, and other means of intellectual cultivation, which he suffered in his youth. We have little doubt, however, that this apparent disadvantage exerted a favorable influence on his mind, and contributed to its originality and strength. The easy access to a variety of books, tends to diminish the appetite with which they are perused, and to overlay the native vigor of the mind with foreign ideas. The experiment of reading through a whole library, which was so beneficial in the case of Sir Walter Scott, would probably ruin a youthful mind of less elasticity and force than his.

Herder received his early religious instruction from Willamov, a preacher held in the highest esteem at Mohrungeu, by whom he was confirmed. He cherished a warm attachment for this clergyman, and, next to his parents, received from him the deepest impressions of religion, friendship, and humanity. The family of Willamov were united with that of Herder in intimate friendship. They had the common bond of sympathy in their tastes, and of poverty. Among the papers of Herder was found an Essay, written at Königsberg, in 1765, entitled "The

Preacher of God." In this ideal of a preacher and pastor, he evidently borrowed the principal lineaments from Willamov, whose character had made a deep impression on his mind. A few extracts from this Essay are subjoined in a free translation, to show the sentiments which Herder entertained, at that early age, (hardly twenty-one,) of a profession, in which he afterwards attained such eminent distinction.

"Where is the great and peculiar man whom I seek? I go through the ranks of the sublime poets, to whom men erect altars, of the mighty orators, who have the power of peace and war, of life and death, upon their tongues; I bow in amazement, and pass on. I review the gifted players, from Roscius to Garrick, who touch every key of human passion; I admire, and pass on. I turn to the philosophers, who ravish my soul with their creative spirit in a new world; I admire, but must go further. Where is he for whom I search? My heart throbs, I raise my head, I move rapidly around. I stop and listen, I hasten forward when I hear a sound, I forget every thing else and watch for it, — alas! I sought him among poets and orators and philosophers, and found him not. — The Preacher of God! Where is he? that I may embrace him, that I may press him to my heart, that I may bring him to the house of my mother, and never let him go from my side. Praise to God! I have not sought him in vain. I have found him, — even among us. More than one, — few indeed, — have I found. But let them be the dearer to me. Preacher of God! great without noise, solemn without the stateliness of poetry, eloquent without Ciceronian periods, powerful without dramatic art, and wise without learned subtilties.

"I see him before me. He stands in the midst of his friends and children. Every eye is turned upon him, every soul hangs upon his face. It is the man speaking with his brother, the man who has baptized him, who has prepared him for the table of remembrance, who has proffered consolation to his parents, to his kindred, to his children, to himself, in the days of sickness, — of some of whom he has stood around the dying bed, — in short, who has been near to him, as an important person, on all of the most important occasions of life. The discourses of such a man have weight.

"He stands in the midst of his friends and children. They press around their father; around the man who is anxious for the welfare of their souls; who knows them in their houses and in their hearts, who consoles them in the troubles of this life, and seeks their happiness for eternity; whom they know as a pious, upright, and judicious man, — who speaks every word from the heart, — he is a Preacher of God.

"He spoke. What shall I call his speaking? Sermon? No. — It was no sermon tone, no sermon style, no sermon introduction,

no sermon theme, no sermon form. Was it an oration? Far from it. There was none of the formality of the orator, no rhetorical thunder and lightning, no affected earnestness and pathos, no pompous solemnity of demeanor. — It was, then, an entertaining, spiritual discourse. Nothing of it. No insinuating arts, no delicate management, no skilful turns and developements, no startling bursts, — nothing of these. — A theological treatise, then. Not at all. No dogmatic articles, no scholastic explanations and divisions, no skeletons of a formal method, no demonstrations and inferences, no theorems, scholiums, or scientific quotations. — But it was then a pulpit-homily. No such thing. No strait-laced dignity, as in the tone of that very reverend divine, no tedious hermeneutical erudition, no pedantic harmonizing of texts, no five-fold applications by way of improvement, no thunderings against heretics, nor abuse towards free-thinkers. Nothing at all of this. Listen to me and judge for yourself.

“I see his image now. The image of a man, whom if nature does not deceive in his exterior, I should choose for my friend, to whom I could freely give my whole heart. His manner of imploring a blessing, with which he commenced, was deeply touching. I heard no declamatory appeals to God, full of Ohs and Ahs, as if the man had just come from heaven and would return thither by storm; but a few words fell upon my ear, which penetrated my soul, and I felt that I was engaged in a great and solemn act. He began with presenting an instance taken from the experience of life, which he accompanied with one or two observations. The fact was not unknown to me, but I had never before regarded it in that light. I inwardly thanked him for the discovery. So did all his hearers; for the circumstance he alluded to was before our eyes, — yet we had never seen it. We felt that we must listen to such a man, for he saw more than we. But he did not chide us for our blindness. He proceeded, like the teacher who gives his pupil the joy of making a discovery for himself. He merely led us into our own little world, into our sphere of action, and into our hearts. He showed us truth, as if he showed it not; so that we felt, ‘With this man will we go, for with him are we happy.’”

In the year 1760, an event took place, which exerted no small influence on the developement of Herder's character, the settlement of Sebastian Friedrich Trescho, as pastor at Mohrungen. He had known Herder when a child, and found him now, at the age of sixteen years, one of the first scholars in the Latin school. His attention was soon directed to him by the propriety of his answers, at the usual catechetical exercises, and the correctness and taste with which he gave an account



of the sermons he had heard, according to the custom at that examination. Trescho being an invalid, and living alone in an empty house, took him home as an amanuensis, but without interfering with his usual studies at school. "If he was not wanted by his parents," says Trescho, "he sat with me at my study-table in the evening, learned his lesson, went to his parents' home for his evening meal, and returned quietly to his chamber, which was contiguous to my parlour." The use of Trescho's library, and the practice of copying his writings, were of some advantage to Herder. Trescho confessed that he permitted him the use of his books, in order to observe the bent of his inclinations; but he met with an obstacle to this, in the timidity and reserve which Herder had acquired under the severe discipline of Grimm. "He never spoke," says Trescho, "in a confident manner, but answered with an almost trembling diffidence, when I gave him any directions; his voice was only half-raised, and he remained closely locked up in himself. He never spoke of himself, and it was impossible to draw any thing out of him, from which I could infer that he was any thing more than a very ordinary boy." For this reason, and on account of the poverty of his parents, Trescho endeavoured to dissuade their son from his passionate attachment to study, and to induce him to learn a trade. But for this Herder had neither the inclination nor the fitness, and in later years, he often alluded with displeasure to the unfriendly treatment of Trescho, and the obstacles which he placed in the way of his inclination to study. According to every account, this was the most unhappy and depressing period of Herder's youth. His ardent desire for knowledge could not, however, be repressed by any difficulties, and he devoted many hours of the night to its gratification. "One evening," says Trescho, "after Herder had retired with his light, I felt a secret uneasiness, lest he might forget to put it out. I crept silently to his chamber, and found him, to my amazement, undressed, on the outside of the bed, fast asleep. A multitude of books were scattered around on the floor, part of them open, Greek and Latin classics, many German poets, and, in the midst of them all, stood the light, still burning. I was astonished and pleased, and at the same time somewhat troubled, to find that my young friend was inspired with such a spirit. The trifling rebuke which I gave him in the morning, for his carelessness, was soon over; and, when I asked him if he was able to use

these books to advantage, he replied, in monosyllables, 'that he tried to understand them.' I now discovered that, instead of a mere pupil of the Latin school, I saw before me a man, who must be placed in a very different school for the development of his extraordinary mind, if we would avoid the guilt of a kind of soul-murder, and not stifle the first breathings of a life destined to great purposes. From this time, I so employed him, at least in his leisure hours, that he could pursue the knowledge, which he had hitherto enjoyed no opportunity of acquiring."

"A short time after this," says Trescho, "I had occasion to learn still more of the rare abilities of my young friend. I was about despatching a fugitive production for publication to my bookseller, Kanter, in Königsberg. Herder undertook to copy it, and send it away. A few days after, Kanter wrote to me that he had found in my packet a poem full of spirit and feeling, addressed to 'Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages,' which he immediately printed to the great acceptance of his customers; and begged me to give him the name of the author. — This could be no other than Herder himself. Upon being questioned with regard to it, he blushed and smiled, but did not disclaim it."

An occurrence is related by Trescho, as having taken place a short time before, which, although it is uncertain what part in it can be ascribed to Herder, may serve to throw some light on the relation he sustained to Trescho. One Sunday evening, as Trescho entered the confessional, he found a sealed letter, in a handwriting with which he was not acquainted. It was filled with sorrowful confessions of the sins and native corruption of the writer, and a declaration that Trescho's sermon of the last Sunday had so much affected him that he was unable to sleep. The sermon alluded to, was from Luke vii. 36-42; in which Trescho had spoken of the easy way of obtaining rest to the soul, and reformation of life, through the Gospel. With the wish to be guided in this way, the letter expressed the firmest belief in the truths of religion, lamentations for unsuccessful efforts to enter this way, and many good resolutions for the future. A request was added to leave a sealed answer on the confessional. Some time after, Trescho began to suspect, from a similarity to the handwriting of Herder, when he wrote carelessly, that he was the author of the letter; and waited to see whether he would make any further commu-

nication, in consequence of the answer. Nothing, however, took place. Trescho declares that he noticed no change in him, but that he remained the same quiet, reserved, thoughtful, and well-behaved youth as before. Herder himself never alluded to this circumstance, in speaking of his early history, nor was Trescho's answer found among his papers. It is easy to suppose, however, that he might have been the author, but was repelled from further communication by the character of the answer. The sacred office, which he had seen adorned by such a man as Willamov, was the object of his highest veneration. With this feeling he was strongly excited by a sermon of Trescho's, which breathed a strain of mystical piety, and kindled his young and ardent soul with a warm desire to reach the Eternal Source of Rest and Wisdom. He hoped that he should find in Trescho the wisest counsellor for his religious nature. But, with his heart touched with the profound simplicity of the sacred writers, and his taste formed by the careful study of the ancient classics, he could not sympathize with the strain of Trescho's answer. Hence he remained silent; and the more experience he had of Trescho's deportment and feelings, the more was he disposed to cherish as little intercourse as possible with a man, who would endeavour to hold his mind in shackles, and who was ill adapted, either to appreciate, or to promote, the development of his powers.

At the age of eighteen, Herder was called to encounter a new obstacle in the course of his education. He was enrolled on the military list of his district, and exposed to the daily apprehension of being forced away as a recruit. Fortunately, his small stature, and a lachrymal fistula in the eye, with which he had been afflicted from childhood, did not add to his qualifications for a soldier, and, perhaps, were the means of exempting him from actual service during his residence at Mohrungen. The fear of being obliged to abandon his studies was a constant source of depression. To this cause we may partly ascribe the timidity and reserve of his youth. His early impressions of the slavery and violence of a military life produced so powerful an effect on his mind, that he could never entirely suppress his aversion to the military character which then distinguished his native country. He often lamented the effect of these early impressions, his horror of a military life, and the imperfections of his school education; in giving his disposition an excessive humility and self-distrust, which impaired his



power of prompt and rapid decision, and prevented him from making the best use of favorable opportunities.

A fortunate turn in his affairs, at last put an end to this uncomfortable situation. A Russian regiment, on their return from the Seven Years' War, took up their winter-quarters at Mohrungen, in the beginning of the year 1762. The surgeon of the regiment, a man of literary taste and strict morality, became a frequent visiter at the house of Trescho. His attention was soon directed to young Herder, and, after learning more of his character and attainments, he made him the proposal, that he should accompany him to Königsberg, and become a student of medicine. He agreed to give him his instruction, and undertake the cure of his diseased eye; and, in return, Herder was to translate for him, into Latin, a medical treatise of his own composition. This proposal was hailed by Herder and his parents as a light from heaven in the midst of darkness. All their friends and acquaintances in Mohrungen shared in their joy at this event, and contributing something towards fitting out the youth for his journey, wished him prosperity on his way. One of his earliest poems, entitled "To my Genius, on my birth-day, August 25," was suggested by this event. In the summer of 1762, he departed with his friend from Mohrungen, and saw his parents, as it proved, for the last time. The transition from an obscure country village, to the activity and splendor of a large city, made a deep impression on his youthful feelings. Königsberg appeared to him almost like a world in itself. The streets, the churches, the college, the houses of his friends and acquaintances, the public edifices, the harbour, the gardens and parks, were imprinted on his memory in after life with as much freshness as if he had seen them but yesterday.

Before his departure from Mohrungen, he had begun to apply himself to the study of botany, under the direction of his new teacher, the Russian surgeon; and the time had now come for him to commence in earnest the study of his profession. Soon after his arrival in Königsberg, he was taken to a dissection. The sight of this was too much for his tender and nervous temperament, and he fainted in horror. This decided his future destiny. His feelings were so much agitated at this time, that he could never afterwards speak of a surgical operation without trembling.

As he was walking in the street, sadly pondering on his

future course, he met an old school-mate, Emmerich, whom he had not seen for some time, and to whom he made known his aversion to his profession, and his resolution to change it for that of theology. Emmerich advised him to adhere to his purpose, and at once to enter his name as a theological student in the college. To this step, Herder objected, on account both of his deficiency in learning and of his want of funds, his whole stock of money being a little more than three Prussian dollars. His friend satisfied him on these points, and they immediately went to the vice-rector, to whom Emmerich communicated the wish of Herder to be examined for admission to the college. This was agreed to, and the examination took place on the spot. Herder sustained it with great credit to himself, and, in a few days, was regularly admitted as a student in theology.

He now informed his friend, the surgeon, of the change in his plans, who received the intelligence with warm displeasure. He endeavoured to dissuade Herder from going on with his project, by representing to him the prospects as a physician in St. Petersburg, which he must sacrifice, and the poor and destitute condition of a clergyman in Prussia. But Herder was not to be shaken in his resolution. The translation of the medical treatise into Latin, with which the surgeon expected to make his fortune, was faithfully completed before their separation, and became of great advantage to him in establishing his reputation as a medical man in St. Petersburg. Herder also announced the step which he had taken to his parents, and to his pastor Trescho, adding, that he should look for no further pecuniary assistance from his friends, but should endeavour to support himself by his own industry. He was now obliged to use the most rigid economy, and, as he would sometimes relate, a few biscuits, for many a day, formed the whole of his sustenance. He now enjoyed uncommon advantages for literary improvement. Besides the private instruction which he received, he attended the academical lectures of several eminent professors, among whom was the celebrated Kant, who lectured at that time on Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Mathematics, and Physical Geography. He soon made the acquaintance of the bookseller, Kanter, who had previously taken an interest in him, on account of his poem, already alluded to, entitled "To Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages." From his acquaintance with this person, Herder derived much advantage. He gave him free access to his books, introduced him to many valuable

acquaintances, and induced him to write short essays and poems in the *Königsberg Journal*, of which he was at that time the publisher. Herder was often heard to speak of the great enjoyment he took in the shop of Kanter, where, forgetting entirely the world around him, he would spend hours, and even days, in devouring the interesting volumes it contained. His grateful sense of the favors he received from Kanter was testified, among other ways, by a funeral oration, which he delivered over the grave of his sister, who died at an early age in the spring of 1764. This youthful production, which was the first effort of his talents as a public speaker, was printed, and excited a general feeling of admiration.

His appointment as instructor in Frederic's-College, which took place at Easter, 1763, gave him an opportunity of exercising his talents in a favorable sphere. He was entrusted with the charge of the two lower classes in Latin, the first class in history, the class in philosophy, and the third classes in mathematics and French. In this office, his thorough mode of instruction, his strict fidelity, and his modest deportment, as well as his public addresses and occasional poems, made him many friends. As a teacher, he insisted on industry and attention in his classes, while he devoted himself to the faithful discharge of his own duties. He was too rigid and exact to be the object of general popularity, although he always enjoyed the esteem and gratitude of the better portion of the students.

With the inspector of the College, a well meaning but rather pedantic person, he could never quite agree. Among other things he insisted that Herder should wear a peruke, as essential to the dignity of a teacher, a demand with which he was not disposed to comply. Still less could he fall in with the strain of forced and extravagant piety, which then prevailed in the College. This was directly opposed to his correct feelings and strong natural religious sentiments.

During a residence of nearly two years at Königsberg, Herder was the object of general esteem and love. Many of the most cultivated families of the city sought his society, and his intercourse with them was favorable to the developement of his feelings as well as the refinement of his mind. "In the year 1764," says Trescho, "I visited Königsberg, and Herder hastened joyfully to meet me. But what a change from the youth who had left me a year or two before. There was scarcely a trace of his former timidity and reserve. Of his



industry and excellent character I had received the most favorable accounts. Intercourse with refined people had exerted a favorable effect on him. He was fitted for the world. But this youthful genius was surrounded by too many admirers and flatterers. Thanks to his own firmness and strength of principle, that he was not corrupted by them."

The character of Herder, as a young man devoted to letters, is presented in so beautiful a light, during his connexion with Frederic's-College, that we cannot pass it over, without going into rather a minute, but we hope not tedious, detail. His disposition was eminently social. The intellectual and refined society, which he enjoyed in Königsberg, did not, however, prevent him from feeling the need of friendship with young men of his own age. He could not be happy without some congenial minds, to whom he could freely impart the thoughts and sentiments, that kindled his own. His chosen companions, among his fellow-students, were young men of distinguished talents and noble feelings. He always loved to call to mind the agreeable intimacies, which he formed at this romantic period of his life. Their bond of union, was the common love of learning, and sympathy of temper and disposition. Among the friends, with whom he was intimate, were several, who afterwards became men of eminence, and filled important stations in society. Some of them have given their early impressions of Herder's character, all of which testify to the purity and elevation of his mind, the charms of his disposition, and his enthusiastic love of learning. One of them, a Prussian counsellor of state, writes as follows. "Herder was one of my most intimate friends. While he was instructor at Frederic's-College, we were together every day. This intercourse became essential to our happiness. A man of the native talents of my friend, cherished and refined by familiarity with the ancient classics and the best German authors; of the clearest head, of a happy temperament and a feeling heart, of a glowing imagination, which never warmed into extravagance, of the most generous disposition, and with a deep thirst for sympathy, must have presented uncommon attractions for a young man, who, with a similar temperament and tastes, was devoted to him with his whole heart and soul. The usual subjects of our conversation were elegant literature and the latest critical reviews. I eagerly availed myself of his superior attainments, for, at that time,

he was already a living library. I found Herder always consistent, always cheerful and sociable, and always strictly moral. If my own more lively disposition sometimes became petulant, he was always able, by some happy and gentle turn, to restore it within its proper limits. The spirit of religion and of humanity pervaded all his feelings."

Another of his college friends, says in a letter, "At Königsberg, I attended with Herder the lectures of Lilienthal on Dogmatics, and of Kant on Metaphysics, Morals, Logic, and Physical Geography. We sat at the same table; he was then timid and silent; his gait was rapid and stooping, one of his eyes usually suffering from disease; and his external appearance indicated poverty; — but his mind was so rich and fruitful, and his remarks, whenever he spoke of the lectures of the professors, so profound and convincing, that he extorted, as it were, the esteem and love of all his companions. Herder occasionally gave poetical contributions to the Königsberg Gazette, which often had a tinge of enthusiasm and exaggeration. I remember, that Kant said of him, after reading one of his hymns for Good-Friday, 'If this foaming genius ever stops fermenting, his great talents will make a useful man of him.'"

Kant appears to have early taken a deep interest in his young pupil, although it is hardly possible to find two persons more dissimilar in their character and tastes. He allowed him the privilege of a free attendance on all his lectures. Herder listened, with intense eagerness, to every idea, every word of the great philosopher, and arranged his thoughts and expressions in order at home. He often showed his copy of the lecture to one of his intimate friends, and discussed with him the theories and arguments, which it contained. It was on a certain delightful morning, — a time when Kant was accustomed to speak with peculiar animation, and, if the subject permitted, with true poetical inspiration, and to quote from his favorite poets, Pope and Haller, — that this magnificent intellect poured forth its bold speculations on Eternity and Time. Herder was evidently deeply impressed. Upon going home, he clothed the ideas of his instructor in verses which would have done honor to Haller. Kant, to whom he showed them the next morning, before the lecture commenced, was so struck with the masterly exhibition of his ideas, that he read them, with the warmest encomiums, before his auditory.

Herder himself often related, that he sometimes conversed with Kant on the subject of his lectures, and gained his confidence to such a degree, that Kant would frequently send him his labors in manuscript, and request his opinion with regard to them. For his own part, he preferred to hear him on Astronomy, Physical Geography, and the grand laws of Nature; on these subjects his lectures were admirable. For his Metaphysics, on the other hand, which he believed he understood more correctly than the later disciples of Kant, as they were set forth, at this time, in a clearer and less artificial form, he had little taste. After hearing one of his metaphysical lectures, he would often go into the open air, with a volume of Rousseau or a favorite poet, in order to free himself from the unpleasant impressions which it had made upon his mind.

For the personal character of Kant he always cherished the highest esteem, but he never concealed from him his own way of thinking and feeling. He was willing to listen with respect and gratitude to his instructions, but he would not become his blind disciple and humble imitator. Kant's happy faculty of speaking with great beauty as well as acuteness, never entirely satisfied Herder; it did not touch his heart, and a genuine sympathy between their minds was never enkindled.

A more congenial friend, with whom he was long united in the most entire and lively sympathy, was John George Hamann, a man of remarkable endowments, an original thinker, possessing a thorough knowledge of the world, and more than ordinary talents as a writer. He was not justly appreciated by his contemporaries, but was afterwards brought into more general notice by the praises of Goethe, Jean Paul Richter, and Jacobi. In this friend, Herder found the most cherished wishes of his heart fully realized. They read together new and valuable works, and, by mutually imparting their ideas and sentiments to each other, they discovered that harmony of feeling and similarity of taste, which formed a solid foundation for their lasting friendship. Hamann had acquired the knowledge of the English language, during a long residence in London, and this was peculiarly welcome to Herder. He immediately commenced this study with him, and it always continued to be a favorite one. Shakspeare's Hamlet was the first work in English which he read, and for many years he could repeat the most beautiful passages from memory.

In the company of this friend, Herder passed a large por-



tion of his leisure hours. His deep religious feeling, his glowing and affectionate heart, his quick perception of the beautiful and the good, and his rigid moral principles, presented an irresistible charm for Herder, so that he always looked upon him as a holy and consecrated being. Their correspondence, after leaving Königsberg, is an invaluable record of their feelings and experience. The arrival of a letter from Hamann was always a feast to Herder. He could not remain in the house. His whole soul was agitated, and he was obliged to give free vent to his emotions in the open air. After he left Königsberg, he saw this friend no more. As he was about paying Herder a visit at Weimar, he died at Münster, in 1788. This event exerted a most depressing influence on Herder's mind, and he was compelled to seek alleviation for his grief in a journey to Italy.

During his residence at Königsberg, Herder had the misfortune to lose his father, who left a small estate to his family. His own share of the patrimony he relinquished to his mother, the only aid he could then afford her. It was afterwards in his power to render her more substantial assistance.

In the autumn of 1764, Herder received the appointment of assistant teacher in the High School at Riga, an important and responsible office, which he obtained through the influence of Hamann, and other literary friends. A short time before leaving Königsberg, his feelings were deeply impressed by the spectacle of a raging conflagration, which continued for five or six days, and threatened to lay the whole city in ruins. His emotions on this occasion were expressed in a poem, entitled "The Ashes of Königsberg," which shows the strong and exciting effect, that this terrific scene had produced on his mind. Previous to his departure, he was cited before the Prussian military tribunal, and required to take an oath, that he would return, if he was demanded, as a soldier. He consented to this with the greatest reluctance, and was never able to conceal the indignation, which was excited by this specimen of military slavery. Such being his impressions, he took leave of his native country with a bitter farewell.

In November, 1764, he arrived at Riga, and, on the 7th of December, was established in his office in the High School. In the month of February following he was examined, as a student in theology, and soon after commenced his public services, as afternoon preacher, at a church in the suburbs of the

city. Although but twenty years old, he perceived the defects in the prevailing theological systems of his time, and endeavoured to obtain higher points of view, which should redeem theology from the influence of the schools, and restore it to the interests and feelings of human nature. He early struck out a new path, which prepared the way for the introduction of a more humane and liberal theology, but, at the same time, exposed him to misunderstanding and reproach. The clergy were ill-disposed towards him, and endeavoured to place every obstacle in his way. His native abilities and superior attainments, however, placed him above their power, and ensured him ultimate success. As instructor and preacher he soon won all hearts. His true and deep sense of religion gave animation and power to his discourses. They moved and satisfied his hearers, and tended to excite them to the cultivation of every virtue, to the love of God and man, and to a consciousness of immortality. These themes, set forth with a warm, natural eloquence, adorned with the graces of a youthful imagination, and clothed in select and expressive language, made an irresistible impression on the heart. His ideas were always derived from the Scriptures, and he closely followed his text, which he developed in an analytic form. All technical and dogmatic expressions, which suggest only the shibboleth of a sect, and are so fatal to true feeling, he carefully avoided. One of his hearers, who survived him many years, thus speaks of his early recollections of Herder's ministry. "I well remember the enthusiastic delight, with which his sermons were received. Those of us, who knew him at that time, have often spoken, with the liveliest emotions, of all that we enjoyed in him as a preacher. We could imagine that we still heard his voice, as he addressed us, at the close of a sermon on Immortality; 'We live not for this world alone. The moment is coming, when all that we now possess will be taken from us, when the joys and pleasures of life will be left behind, when all the glory and greatness of the world will be veiled in tears, when the laurel-crown of success will fade upon our brow; the time is at hand, when death will snatch us from the embrace of our friends, from the arms of our children, from the hearts of the beloved, from the circle of all our earthly hopes. O let our lives be such, that we shall not be compelled to go away with sad hearts and tearful eyes, with the stings of conscience

and the sighs of remorse, with bloody hands and spotted souls. Let us here provide for our souls, let us plant them with virtues, which will abide with us for ever, and be perfected in a higher world. Goodness and justice, the fear of God and the love of man, will remain with us in death and follow us into eternity.' — These were the words of my friend in the bloom of his youth; thus he led the way before us, lived as he taught, and prepared that, which remained with him in death and followed him into eternity."

The character of Herder as a preacher, and the views of the gospel ministry, which he entertained during his residence at Riga, may be best learned from his own words, in the farewell sermon, which he preached on leaving that city in 1769. The whole of that sermon is remarkable, for the frankness and independence, with which he expresses his feelings and purposes in the ministry, and, though somewhat in anticipation of our narrative, we will here introduce a few passages from it, which show the distinct and elevated conceptions he had formed at this early age of the peculiar duties of his calling.

After describing the importance of the sacred office, Herder proceeds, "Permit me to give an account of the manner in which I have attempted to attain its object. The word preached is to save souls. What then can be a more important duty for the preacher than to become acquainted with human souls, to know them both on their good and their bad sides, in their heights and depths, in their secret windings and their open manifestations? It is therefore the great study of the preacher, in which, for his life long, he cannot go too far, on which his whole work depends, to make human souls happy. Nothing in the world really touches us, but that which is actually human, which proceeds from the feelings of our hearts, and is, in a manner, related to the inward structure of our being.

"The most frequent and favorite subjects of my sermons have accordingly been human. Our destiny in this world and the world to come; the dignity of our nature, as created in the Image of God; the degradation and misery produced by the indulgence of guilty passions; the connexion between our happiness and our fidelity to the endowments of our nature; the supremacy of reason and conscience; and, above all, the immortality of the soul; these are the subjects, which I have preferred to set forth, and to impress upon the heart of man,



with all their momentous consequences. Humanity, in its full extent, with all its noble dispositions towards God, towards itself, and towards others, with all its sympathizing and brotherly emotions, with all its delightful duties, with all its sublime gifts and capacities for happiness; humanity, in this broad compass, has always been the grand theme of my discourses, my instructions, my exhortations. All my preaching has been directed to this point; it was human. If I have never lost myself in dark and subtle questions, in fathomless mysteries, and in consecrated refinements; if I have always chosen the side which was nearest to the human soul, and which was fitted to make the strongest and deepest impression on the heart; if I have always endeavoured to use a human language, — my motive and purpose in so doing was to become a worthy teacher of mankind.

I am aware that this point of view has not been taken by all my hearers. I know that many have had the kindness to regard me as a philosopher in black clothes, who does not preach as a theologian, and whose doctrines belong to the chair of the professor, and to the closets of the learned, rather than to the instructions of the pulpit. But these hearers have judged too favorably of me. What I have preached here has been any thing but learning; it has only been important human instructions and concerns. I have never presented them in a learned manner, but always as a man, with the entire language of my heart and sympathy. I have ever spoken from an overflowing breast, kindled with zeal for the interests of humanity. Hence I have spoken so much in detail of human duties, of the duties of different callings, ages, and stations in life. Hence I have spoken so often, and with such deep interest, on the education of the young and on the domestic duties. Hence I have identified myself, as it were, with persons of various characters and temperaments; since every man acts after his own peculiar disposition and turn of mind, and must see himself portrayed in strong and lively colors, and be addressed with motives drawn from his own heart and feelings; else the preacher will speak to deaf ears. Hence, in fine, it has been my favorite object, to guide men to the true enjoyment of life, in all the innocence of their hearts, and in all the purity of their conscience, but, at the same time, with the exercise of all their native endowments and capacities, according to the purpose of God in the creation of man. If, then, I have preached philosophy, it has ever been a philoso-

phy of human nature ; I spoke the word to make human souls happy."

With such clear and rational conceptions of the objects of preaching, and such a warm and glowing sympathy with his fellow men, we cannot be surprised that the public services of Herder were listened to with enthusiasm, and that his personal character was the object of general admiration and love. He soon became connected with the interests of his adopted city, and found in it a new father-land. His talents received a fresh impulse from the intercourse of society, of which, in return, he was a brilliant ornament. His pure moral feelings, his noble disposition, his quick sensibility to the good and the true, his fine taste and love of the beautiful, his ready sympathy with the sufferings of others, his intellectual and witty strain of conversation, united with a cheerful earnestness, gained for him the highest affection and esteem from all the circles of society which he frequented. The charms of social intercourse did not prevent him from pursuing his literary labors with great activity. He formed the plan of several important works, and published others, some of which involved him in unpleasant disputes with the reviewers, by which he appears to have been so much annoyed, as to hasten the termination of his residence at Riga. Although this period may be regarded as the golden age of his life, he felt that he was not in all respects in the sphere of action best suited to his character and tastes. The use of a large library, and intercourse with eminent literary men, were indispensable wants, which he could not satisfy in his present situation. After cherishing the resolution in secret for some time, he at last announced his intention of engaging in a course of foreign travel. It was his chief purpose to become acquainted with the principal literary institutions in France, Holland, and Germany, and, if possible, to visit Italy, in order to establish, upon his contemplated return to Riga, a Livonian National Institutè of Education. On the 5th of May, 1769, he received leave of absence from the Council of Riga, and on the 25th of May, in company with a friend, he set out for Nantes.

The opportunity for retirement and reflection afforded by the voyage, was devoted by Herder to an examination of his past life, and to the formation of plans for the literary culture and moral improvement of his fellow men. These objects, always near his heart, seemed now to haunt him with fresh

interest, and, united with the new and fearful impressions of external nature, kept his mind in a constant state of excitement, bordering upon enthusiasm. A journal which he kept at this time is still preserved, and forms a curious record of his feelings and character. The ardent hopes which warmed his imagination are expressed without reserve, but not without a perception of the obstacles which lay in the way of their fulfilment. The great interests of humanity, the highest cultivation of man, the advancement of society in all that decorates, ennobles, and spiritualizes life, were the objects which he kept steadily in view, and in pursuit of which he appears to have sacrificed all selfish purposes and considerations. He intended to return to Riga, after he had gained the advantages which he anticipated from travelling in foreign countries, and then to devote all his resources to the improvement of his adopted land. "O Livonia," he writes in his journal, "thou province of barbarism and luxury, of ignorance and pretension, of freedom and slavery, how much is to be done for your benefit! What must I do, to become your Zuingli, or Luther, or Calvin? Let me renounce unprofitable criticism and lifeless speculations, and let me devote myself to the benefit and the cultivation of the living world. With this view, I will travel through France, England, Italy, and Germany, and collect the fruits of the French literature and taste, the English spirit of reality and freedom, the Italian love of the fine arts, and the German profound investigation and extensive learning. But, alas! how much of the fire of my youth has been expended in critical and unprofitable subtilities. Livonia is a province in possession of foreigners. Many foreigners have made use of it, in pursuing commerce for the acquisition of wealth. But to me, a foreigner also, is it given for a higher purpose; to forming it in true culture, let my sacred office be devoted,—to making it the colony of an improved Protestant faith, not by writing, not by paper wars, but by giving it the principle of life, by genuine cultivation. For this purpose I have space, time, and opportunity. I have all good and noble-minded men on my side, in opposition to one or two pedants."

He arrived at Nantes on the 16th of July, where it was his plan to reside a few months, in order to perfect himself in the use of the French language, and then to take up his abode at Paris, which at that time, as at the present, was the centre of all that



is refined and intellectual in European cultivation. After having made the acquaintance of several agreeable friends at Nantes, and gained a deeper insight into the French character and manners, on their most favorable side, he proceeded to Paris in the month of November.

He was now surrounded with the attractions of this great metropolis, which, for a mind like his, must have possessed no ordinary interest. His time appears to have been spent in intercourse with literary men, in visiting the principal objects of curiosity, and in study and retirement. He was far from being dazzled with the splendor of the capital, but under all its magnificence and show, he discovered a frivolity and heartlessness which wearied and disgusted him. Among the distinguished scholars of that time, he made the acquaintance of *Didérot*, *D'Alembert*, *Thomas*, *Barthélemy*, and others of less celebrity. The French Theatre interested him, as the representation of the character and taste of the nation, and its literary culture. He admired the talents of *Clairon* and *Le Cain*, yet, with few exceptions, he regarded the whole merely as a specimen of conventional art.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Herder received an invitation from the Duke of Holstein-Oldenburg at Eutin, to accept the office of chaplain, and travelling tutor to his son, the Prince William Frederic. This offer presented many advantages for the attainment of his personal objects, in pursuing a course of foreign travel, but at the same time interfered with the plans of education which he had in view for Riga. After many conflicting feelings, he at last resolved to accept the appointment, and left Paris, in December, 1769, for Eutin, visiting Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, on the way. At Hamburg he became acquainted, for the first time, with the celebrated *Lessing*, with whom he passed several days in the most agreeable intimacy, and established a friendship which ended only with life.

After remaining a short time at Eutin, with the family of the Duke, from whom he met with the most friendly reception, Herder commenced his travels with the young Prince in July, 1770, accompanied by his court-governor, the Baron von Capelmann. Their route lay through Hamburg, Göttingen, Darmstadt, and Carlsruhe, to Strasburg, where they proposed to pass the winter. At Darmstadt, the native city of the Duchess of Holstein, they made a short visit, which, in its

consequences, proved an event of the greatest importance for Herder's future life and happiness. In a family to which he was introduced by the governess of the young Princesses of Darmstadt, he formed an acquaintance with a lady named Flachsland, who was then on a visit in the house of a married sister. A strong mutual attachment soon took place; and from this time Herder found himself surrounded by new influences, and impelled by new motives, to persevere in the course of honorable and brilliant exertion which he had early commenced.

While at Darmstadt, Herder received a second invitation from the Count William of Schaumburg-Lippe, to accept the office of superintendent of the clergy and consistorial counsellor at Bückeburg. The first invitation had been given a few months previous, but did not reach him till just as he was leaving Eutin, and had not yet been answered. The character of Capelmann was not agreeable to Herder, and interfered with his plans of education for the Prince so much, that he felt unwilling to retain his office, and he accordingly decided to accept the proposal of the Count William.

At Strasburg, he submitted to one or two operations for the cure of his diseased eye, but without success. This detained him, for several months, in that city, much to his personal inconvenience and regret, but the time was not wholly lost. He devoted the hours in which he was able to read, to the study of Shakspeare and Ossian, the Grecian poets and Klopstock, and engaged in the composition of an essay "On the Origin of Language," for which he afterwards obtained a prize from the Berlin Academy. He also enjoyed the society of several distinguished literary men, among whom were Goethe and Jung-Stilling. From these last he received almost daily visits, and commenced an intimacy with them which ripened into esteem and permanent friendship.

In May, 1771, Herder commenced the duties of his new situation at Bückeburg, with high expectations of enjoying a sphere of useful and happy exertion. He soon found, however, that, on many essential points, the views of the Count were so different from his own, as to embarrass his plans of activity, and to render his condition uncomfortable. The Count was twenty years older than Herder, accustomed to the exactness of military discipline, and, although possessing noble principles and sentiments, was austere and forbidding in his external demeanor. Herder's predecessor in the family of the Count,

Thomas Abbt, was a man of the world, as well as an elegant scholar, and understood the art of conforming to the disposition and taste of his patron, with a graceful ease, that made him a decided favorite. Such an intimate relation between the Count and Herder was out of the question, with their great diversity of opinions and views. The Count took no interest in Herder's professional duties, but wished only to possess in him a friend, of education and refinement, with whom he could freely converse on literary subjects, and on ideas suggested by his reading and experience of life. He advised Herder to devote himself entirely to literary pursuits, and to make the duties of his office a secondary consideration. He thought that pastoral labors belonged only to inferior men, and tried to convince him that no human endeavour for the improvement of social institutions could be of the slightest avail. Such principles, so degrading to the destiny of man, and leading to a petrification of society, were entirely repugnant to the strongest convictions of Herder. He contended against them with his whole soul. It was his wish, for himself and for others, to advance and not to stand still. He was zealous for improvement, wherever it could be realized; and he loved the sacred office, to which he had consecrated his life and activity. An abject servility towards the great had never been his fault. If he wished to carry any purpose with them, it was not by flattery and affected submission, but by the straight and open path of honor and duty. The loss of time, which he suffered from the nature of his intercourse with the Count, was painful to him, and he could never conceal the unpleasant impression which it made. His purpose of devoting his talents to the promotion of human happiness was always near his heart; and the merely speculative life which he led with the Count was a source of constant discontent. Active usefulness was the great need of his soul, and without this no condition could appear of much value.

He nominally held the office of head pastor of the church of Bückeburg, but the congregation consisted scarcely of twenty persons; and, as the office had been vacant for a long time, even these few were irregular in their attendance. Coming among them an entire stranger, it was only by slow degrees that he could gain the hearts of the inhabitants, through the influence of his sermons, the instruction and confirmation of their children, and the strictness and purity of his moral deportment. His introductory discourse, which he delivered a few weeks



after his arrival in Bückeburg, though filled with deep and ardent feeling,\* and presenting the most affecting and delightful views of religion, appears to have made very little impression. There was no one who could enter into his ideas, or sympathize with his spirit. He disdained the use of rhetorical artifice to gain attention, although his powers of composition, and the beauty and liveliness of his delivery, gave him uncommon resources for the production of popular effect. He was, in fact, heard with indifference. His audience perceived at the same time that he was no every-day preacher, but they were not moved and agitated, and led to practical resolutions, by his discourse. With all his other gifts for pulpit eloquence, his physical nature presented an obstacle to its exercise. His person was small, his face was almost colorless and of a sickly appearance, and his voice inclining to monotony, and too feeble for a large church. His efforts for the improvement of the schools, which had fallen into decay, were not seconded by the Count, whose pecuniary embarrassments at that time prevented him from making the advances required for that purpose. Upon the whole, Herder found himself out of place at Bückeburg, his mind cramped for want of congenial objects, and his plans impeded by the indifference of others, whose coöperation was essential to success. He thus speaks of himself in a letter to a friend, dated August, 1772. "My situation, with respect to the Count, is still the same ;—distant, unacquainted, not suited to each other. A noble lord, but sadly perverted ! A great lord, but too great for his land ! A philosophical mind, by whose philosophy I am crushed. For myself, I have nothing to do. A pastor, without a flock ! A patron of schools, without schools ! A consistorial counsellor, without a consistory."

Under these circumstances, it seems that Herder had no disposition to engage in any new literary enterprise, although he was employed in collecting materials for some of his future works, the plan of which he had already conceived. He published nothing at this time but a few contributions to different periodical works. His favorite relaxation was found in the composition of his Sunday sermons, and in a wide course of literary reading, particularly the ancient classics, the principal poets of every age, the old German poets and the national songs of England.

It was some time after Herder was established at Bückeburg

that he became acquainted with the Countess, a woman of a truly feminine character, and possessing rare qualities of intellect and heart. She was naturally of a religious disposition, and had been exposed to influences in early life, that brought her under the dominion of a morbid and ascetic piety. The more humane and liberal views of Herder, which formed the element of his preaching, made a new and powerful impression on her mind; and she soon wished to cultivate a more intimate acquaintance with one, from whom she hoped to receive so much spiritual benefit. With his quick sympathy for every expression of human feeling, and his passion for promoting human improvement, Herder could not but enter with deep interest into this new and friendly relation. He proved the wise religious counsellor, the affectionate guide, and the judicious and faithful instructor, to a mind thirsting for divine truth, and not satisfied with any former attainments. His friendship with the Countess, and the satisfaction he experienced in aiding the spiritual progress of even a single individual, who could fully appreciate his instructions, served in some degree to alleviate the burdens of his situation, but could not entirely reconcile him to it. He still thirsted for a higher sphere of action, in which all his faculties could be exercised, and his plans for the moral improvement of society carried into effect. The choice between the life of a Professor at a University, and a secure and profitable situation in the service of the State, in which he could act directly on the public mind, and at the same time better establish his domestic relations, seems to have cost him a severe struggle.

A journey to Göttingen in 1772, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Heyne and his family, there is no doubt had some reference to this object. Nothing decisive, however, took place; and, after receiving several proposals from different quarters, of an unsatisfactory nature, he determined to remain where he was, until he should be enabled to accomplish the plans, which he had long cherished, for the improvement of education in Livonia.

The uncertain condition, in which he was placed at Bückeburg, induced him to postpone the time of his marriage, until more favorable circumstances should arise. This had been the source of great unhappiness; as the lady, to whom he was attached, was eminently suited to his disposition and tastes, and was herself a rare model of female excellence. As there

was no immediate prospect of a change in his situation, it was determined that the marriage should be delayed no longer. Herder, accordingly, proceeded to Darmstadt for that purpose, where the nuptials were celebrated on the 2d of May, 1773. In her "Recollections of the Life of her Husband," his wife speaks of this event as follows: "An aged and venerable clergyman united us, in the circle of my relations, on a beautiful evening at sunset, in the month of May. It was indeed the blessing of God which he pronounced over us. The love of my brother and sister, and the serene and delightful season, gave a charm to our marriage feast. We seemed almost to hear the approving voice of God upon our connexion."

The new relation, into which Herder now entered, exerted the most favorable influence on his happiness and his pursuits. The next three years he passed in the stillness and peace of a fortunate marriage, in intercourse with many refined and noble minds, whose sympathy and friendship he enjoyed, and in a course of active and constant literary industry. He seemed restored to his own better nature, which his unpropitious circumstances had not been able to destroy. He stood once more on firm ground, accompanied by a being, whose whole soul was in harmony with his, and whom he could cultivate and mould, as entirely belonging to himself. His powers received new life; and with alacrity and joy he hastened to the accomplishment of the intellectual plans, which he had long cherished in his own mind.

During his residence at Riga, he had conceived the idea of his work, entitled "The Oldest Records of the Human Race," and had made some progress in its execution. He now devoted himself to its completion, and published the first part of it in the spring of 1774. The happy influences with which he was surrounded, his glowing fancy, and ardent zeal for every thing beautiful and good, raised him to a lofty enthusiasm for religion, and for the clearer illustration of its primitive sources. He engaged in the composition of this work in the most delightful frame of mind, and almost completed the first part of it in six weeks, in the serene and beautiful summer days, when he would often commence his labors at four o'clock in the morning.

In the winter of 1773-4, he was employed on a work, which attracted much notice, entitled "Provincial Letters to Preachers." This is one of the most original of Herder's



productions, but betrays the marks of great excitement, in some places amounting to invective, against the overstrained exegesis, which had been introduced by such critics as Michaelis, and which he believed fatal to a true perception of the religious sense and poetical beauty of writings of such high antiquity, as those contained in the Bible. His opponents replied, on the other hand, that Herder was too much of a poet to be a good interpreter.

From 1773 to 1775, he preached a series of Discourses on the Life of Jesus, which produced a strong impression on his audience. They were listened to with so much interest, that even the peasants from the neighbouring villages came with their Bibles in their hands, to follow the preacher in the passages which he explained.

In 1774 he wrote his "Philosophy of History," the germ of the great work, which he published ten years after, entitled "Ideas for the History of Humanity." This is the most celebrated, and on many accounts, the most interesting of Herder's productions. Its title is characteristic of the author as well as the subject. It may be said that the greater part of his writings are Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humanity. An intense sympathy with the fortunes of the human race, a deep interest in every thing which throws light on their records, and an enthusiastic passion for their spiritual progress, were the leading features of his mind, and are impressed on almost every page of his writings.

His leisure hours were now employed in the collection of the "Popular Songs of Different Nations," a work which opened to him a rich garden of poetry, and became the source of high gratification. He was aided in this pursuit, by the congenial mind of his gifted wife, who shared with him the pleasant hours, which he devoted to this occupation. In 1775 appeared his "Illustrations of the New Testament," from a new-found Oriental source, and the "Letters of two Disciples of Jesus," in which he attempts to show from psychological considerations, that James and Jude were the brothers of our Saviour.

During this year he engaged in a negotiation with the authorities at Göttingen, relative to a Professor's chair in that University. The result of this was his appointment, as Fourth Professor of Theology and University Preacher, subject, however, to the unpleasant condition of submitting to an examina-

tion before the Theological Faculty. It appears, that, though he enjoyed the highest esteem as a man and a writer on literary subjects, his character as a theologian and the soundness of his orthodoxy were laboring under some suspicion, in the minds of the King and the Counsellors of State. The controversy that ensued on this subject is curious, as showing the spirit of petty and conceited bigotry, united with an extreme deficiency in theological learning, which then prevailed in the country, which has since rendered such noble services to the cause of liberal inquiry and sound learning. Herder resisted the attempt to call him to account for his opinions, declaring that the time was past, for one to make a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to have his orthodoxy established, and that, if this was demanded at Göttingen, it proved it to be more domineering than Rome. After much discussion, and some concessions on the part of the Counsellors at Göttingen, Herder made up his mind to undergo the examination, and was actually commencing the journey for that purpose, when he received a proposal from Goethe, in behalf of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, to accept the situation of Head Pastor and General Superintendent at that court. This offer was joyfully welcomed, and he at once renounced all thoughts of Göttingen.

He removed to Weimar, with his family, in October, 1776. His arrival was greeted with a warm welcome by the Duke, and by Goethe he was received with the regard due to a faithful and intimate friend. The suspicions against his orthodoxy had however followed him to Weimar, and he did not escape the influence of clerical jealousy and ill-will. His introductory sermon, which had been eagerly expected, was delivered before a crowded audience, and produced a powerful impression. The report had been circulated among the people, that he could not preach, and they wished to hear for themselves. They were undeceived by this discourse, and learned to regard his character in the proper light.

The first winter of his residence at Weimar was devoted to learning the duties of his new office. A vacancy of five years had lessened the respect in which it was held, as well as its services and emoluments. The institutions of religion and education were at that time very generally undervalued. Moral and literary cultivation was the object of ridicule, and physical accomplishments alone were deemed worthy of attention. The sacred office, in particular, through the austere and

pedantic character of its members, had fallen into contempt. Frequent comparisons were drawn between the dull and uninteresting life of a clergyman in his parish, and that of a soldier in the field, or a hunter in the forest; and persons of these sentiments, who cherished a high esteem for Herder in other respects, wished for nothing more than that he should enter into their views, and made use of every exertion to accomplish that object. They perceived that he had nothing of the solemn pedant about him, and hence concluded that he was governed by the same frivolous principles with themselves. But Herder was not a person to be influenced by their persuasions or example. He continued immovably attached to his sacred profession, and to his principles of morality, religion, and learning.

The duties of his office as General Superintendent brought him into intimate connexion with the clergy and their churches, and obliged him to listen to the cases of misunderstanding and difficulty, that were constantly occurring. The settlement of these often required a degree of legal knowledge with which he was poorly furnished. Unfitted as he felt himself to be for these services, he was sustained under them by the idea that he was the means of doing justice to many who had been wronged and oppressed. The pastors in the country were soon convinced of his inflexible rectitude and the correctness of his decisions. From his colleagues in the consistory he received little support or sympathy. They regarded him as a dangerous innovator, and opposed, as impracticable and visionary, all his attempts for the improvement of the schools and the regulation of the churches. With these obstacles in his way, he had no resource left, but to diffuse more enlightened views among his opponents and the public at large, through the medium of his public discourses and his personal example. He soon gained the court and city on his side. As the strength of his religious principles became known, he was regarded as a tower in the cause of morality, against the rising flood of irreligion and licentiousness, which threatened the land.

At that time Weimar was the scene of unusual festivity, on account of the recent marriage of the young Duke. Musical entertainments, theatrical exhibitions, public readings, and other elegant and tasteful recreations were multiplied, in which the literary men of the court were called to share, and in this way Herder was at once brought into pleasant and intimate



relations with the reigning family. The mother of the Duke was in the habit of collecting the most polished and intellectual society at her house on stated evenings. These presented an opportunity of very agreeable social intercourse. The reading of some favorite ancient or modern poet, Shakspeare, Lessing, Goethe, Wieland, or Herder himself, or conversation on literature, politics, and the fine arts, furnished abundant materials for entertainment. In these little circles Herder bore a distinguished part. His social disposition and brilliant conversation fitted him to please, while the soundness of his judgment and the purity of his morals gained a general esteem for his opinions and his character. He became a universal favorite, and established a friendship with many of the principal literary men of the age.

His own literary labors were pursued with unabated industry. Works of great compass and research succeeded each other with incredible rapidity, which soon established his reputation as one of the great classical writers of Germany. His most important work at this time in the department of theology, was written in 1780-81, entitled "Letters on the Study of Theology." This work, — some parts of which were translated for "The Christian Disciple," a few years since, with so much taste and fidelity to the original, as leads us to regret that it was not completed by the same skilful hand, — does not purport to be an entire system of theology; but there are few important topics in this science which it does not touch, and on all which it touches it presents striking and original views, and frequently lays down principles of the most important and fruitful consequences.

The acquaintance of Herder with John George Müller, the brother of the great German historian, John von Müller, commenced about this period. Müller afterwards became one of his warmest admirers and most intimate friends, and, after the decease of Herder, superintended the publication of a part of his writings. The commencement of this acquaintance is so illustrative of the beautiful enthusiasm of the German character, that we will relate it in Müller's own words. "On the 7th of October, 1780, I saw Herder for the first time. After the ancient custom of making pilgrimages to a Plato, or Pythagoras, the wise men of foreign lands, I travelled on foot from Göttingen to Weimar, with the sole purpose of seeing Herder. I had read his writings two years before. My first acquaintance with

them deeply affected me, and gave my mind an entirely new impulse. I wished to take his advice with regard to my future studies. He received me in a very friendly manner, and we soon began to talk on my pursuits. I asked his advice on several different points. A serene smile came over his face, as he arose and brought a book from the closet, which he presented me, as containing his written opinions upon all the subjects on which I wished for further information. It was the first part of the 'Letters on the Study of Theology.' It contains these words, so striking, so true, so adapted to the present times: 'The best study of divinity is the study of the Bible, and the best reading of this divine book is with human feelings and sympathies.' It was only an hour before, that he had received the first copy from the publisher. It must have delighted his heart so soon to find a young man for whom the book seemed expressly to have been written, and who received it from his hand with the greatest thirst for knowledge and the warmest gratitude. It answered all the questions which I wished to ask, and many more. My feelings may easily be imagined. From this hour our friendship began. He had gained my heart for ever. The following year I passed six months in his family, where I was treated as a son. After that, I never saw him again. But his friendship was always the same. His fatherly sympathy in every thing that interested me continued until his lamented end. A thousand thanks to the beloved departed I pour forth on the spot where he reposes. His sleep will be soft, his allotment will be lovely, his name will be for ever dear to the friends of truth, of virtue, and of religion, who knew him on earth, or who shall hereafter commune with him in his writings."

In 1782-83, Herder published the first and second parts of the "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry"; a work to which he devoted many of his most happy hours, but which he did not live to complete. In the spring of 1783, he took a journey to Wandsbeck, for the purpose of recruiting his health, and visiting his friend Claudius, an eminent German poet. Here he became acquainted with Klopstock, for whom he had always cherished a high esteem, and who cordially welcomed his friendship. He also made the acquaintance of Jerusalem, a distinguished writer on theology, and a man of a noble and venerable character. While with Claudius, he wrote his first letter to Fred-eric Henry Jacobi, with the spirit of whose philosophy he

warmly sympathized, in opposition to the dry and critical tone of the school of Kant. In this letter, among other things, he describes his wife, in a manner which illustrates the frankness and simplicity of feeling which are so often found in Germany, connected with the most brilliant mental endowments. "I have a wife," says he, "who is the ornament, the consolation, and the happiness of my life. Even in the most fleeting thoughts, she is so one with me, as often to excite the astonishment of us both. She suffers in her soul only when she sees me suffer. At other times, she is the very image of repose and activity, always full of good spirits and cheerful views."

The pecuniary resources of Herder were limited, and, with his increasing expenses, had occasionally caused him some embarrassment. A circumstance occurred in the year 1788, which, as it indicates the respect that was felt for his character, and presents a rare example of unostentatious generosity, we will here relate. On the 10th of March, he received through the post-office a letter, without name or date, containing two thousand Rhenish guilders, which he was begged to accept, in proof of the esteem of the writer. It expresses the wish "to be allowed the beautiful privilege of doing something for the comfort of a great man," and concludes with saying; "You will never discover who I am; keep silent yourself, for I shall always do so." This liberal gift came at a fortunate moment for the family of Herder, when they were suffering under the pressure of debts, contracted in their removal to Weimar, and in repeated sicknesses, with which they had been visited. It was received with emotions of lively though pensive gratitude towards their unknown benefactor, whom they were never able to discover. A few weeks after this, while Herder was suffering an uncommon depression of spirits, on account of the recent death of a child, and the cares and perplexities of his situation, he received an invitation from the Baron Frederic von Dalberg to accompany him on a tour to Italy. This proposal, it may be imagined, was truly welcome. It gave him an opportunity for necessary relaxation, and, at the same time, enabled him to gratify the wish of visiting Italy, which he had secretly cherished from his youth. The impressions made upon his mind, during this tour, are vividly portrayed in the letters which he wrote to his family at home. They present a charming picture of his own character, but are less valuable as



descriptions of the scenery, the literary treasures, and the works of art, which he saw in Italy, than we should have supposed. He returned to Weimar in the summer of 1789, after having received, while at Rome, an urgent invitation through his friend Heyne, to accept a Professor's chair at Göttingen. A great change had taken place, it appears, in the administration of that University; and it was now earnestly desired that Herder should accept the office of Professor of Theology, and First Preacher to the University. The letter of Heyne, on this occasion, shows what a progress had been made in liberal views; since, on his former appointment, Herder had experienced so much embarrassment on account of the suspicions which were cast upon his orthodoxy. "Every thing," says he, "wears a new aspect at Göttingen. Every thing has turned out in your favor. Here you will, and must be, honored and happy. Even LESS regards you as the only hope of our theological interests. All classes are impatient for you, as the sole pillar of a sound theology." Herder delayed the answer to this letter until after his return to Weimar, and, after remaining for some time in a state of painful indecision, at last gave his reply in the negative. He was now fixed at the court of the Grand Duke, and by his appointment to the office of Vice-President of the Upper Consistory, his labors were increased, and in a sphere, which, in many respects, was far from being congenial with his tastes. Many duties, merely of a business character, now devolved upon him, which interrupted his literary pursuits and his pastoral labors. The pressure of such inappropriate services began to prey upon his health and spirits. In the winter of 1789-90, he was visited with severe and repeated attacks of sickness, so that his life was considered to be in danger. The return of spring brought with it a return of health, but not in the degree which he had before enjoyed. His depression of spirits continued. He felt that his talents were misdirected, and his time wasted. He was often heard to exclaim, "O, my unprofitable life!" as if the rare and abundant fruits of his activity were nothing compared with the ideal which he had conceived. His labors for the improvement of the churches and the schools in Weimar were indefatigable. His fertile invention was constantly suggesting important changes, and his practical energy led him to spare no pains in their execution. He did not despise the humblest labors, and devoted much time to the composition of elementary books for

the schools, and of improved liturgies and hymn-books for the churches. At the same time, his literary zeal was not relaxed, and several of the most important productions of his pen were published at this period. His writings on theology and general literature, — the fruits of profound and extensive investigation and of original thought, — were numerous, while many more ephemeral productions were furnished to the different periodicals of the day.

Among the subjects which occupied his attention at this time, was the Critical Philosophy of Kant, which, through the character of its founder, the zeal of its disciples, and its own lofty pretensions, had gained a wide ascendancy, not only in the peculiar sphere of philosophical speculation, but in all the higher departments of literature throughout Germany. Herder had no sympathy with the dry and anatomical spirit of this system, and deprecated the influence which it had acquired, as hostile to the principles of correct taste, and to the cultivation and expression of some of the most important elements of human nature. His attention seems to have been given almost exclusively to its defects; and, with his enthusiastic and poetical turn of mind, it must be admitted that he was hardly competent to do justice to its great merits as an analytical exposition of the grounds of human knowledge. It occupied a region of thought, with which Herder was not conversant, and the importance of which he was wholly unable to estimate as it deserves. He was admirably qualified, however, to detect its deficiencies, when regarded as a system complete and perfect in itself, and claiming to be the ultimate and exclusive philosophy of human nature. It is much to the credit of Herder's acuteness, — the result in him of an instinctive feeling rather than of an intellectual perception, — that, at the time when this system was held up as a new and infallible revelation, which none but shallow thinkers could doubt, he pointed out its defects, and contended against its influence, on the same grounds on which it has since been successfully attacked, and, though not destroyed, since it contains too much important truth for it to die, made to lower its pretensions, and assume a more modest rank. His principal works on this subject, entitled "*Metacritique for the Critique of Pure Reason*," and "*Calligone*," were published in 1799 and 1800. While preparing to continue the controversy, he was induced by the representations of several of his friends, and Goethe, in particular, to lay it aside, and turn his attention to more congenial pursuits.

The health of Herder, which had been gradually yielding under the pressure of his manifold labors and cares, now began to present more alarming symptoms. After several journeys, in the hope of mitigating his complaints, but without permanent effect, he returned to Weimar, suffering under a complication of disorders, and it soon appeared that his constitution was destroyed, and that he had returned only to die in the bosom of his family. His activity, however, could hardly be abated by the pangs of disease; every interval from suffering was devoted to the completion of the works which he had in hand, and his mental powers continued so vigorous, in the midst of extreme physical debility, that he could not renounce the hope of recovery. Soon after the commencement of his last sickness, he would often say, "O for some new, great, spiritual idea, which would fill and penetrate my soul, and I should be well again at once." He desired life only as it would afford him the opportunity to give utterance to many thoughts which were near his heart, and which he deemed important to human happiness. A few days before his death, he expressed the wish that he might live to complete two additional parts of his "*Adrastea*"; "They should form," he said, "his last finished work, and contain the perfect exhibition of his views." He lamented that he had accomplished so little in life, that he had spent so much time in abstruse and unprofitable subtilties, while the great book of humanity lay open before him, which one ought to read, instead of engaging in high and curious speculations. He was unable to receive the visits of his friends, but could attend for a short time to the reading of some favorite author. The writings of his friend Müller, and the Bible, especially the prophetic parts, were the last which he could bear to hear read. A little music on the harpsichord was soothing to his mind, and he often expressed his desire for it. The hope of recovery, though it grew weaker and weaker, did not entirely forsake him. On Sunday morning, December 18th, 1803, after a violent paroxysm of pain, he fell into a gentle slumber, from which he did not awake. At 11 o'clock in the evening he breathed his last. "Softly and without pain," says his wife, "he slept in the arms of God. All our tears could not again awake him. He was all for which we lived, — the guardian angel who lived for us."

This admirable woman did not long survive her husband. After living to see her children happily provided for, and to



complete the beautiful memorial of her husband, in her own affecting "*Recollections of his Life*," she died in 1809, the object of universal esteem and affection. With her strong and cultivated mental powers, her delicate taste, and clear perceptions, it would have been easy for her to have acquired a shining literary reputation; but her whole pride was concentrated on her husband, and on the quiet and faithful discharge of her domestic duties. Her influence on the ardent and excitable character of Herder was like the dew on the parching herbage; it softened the asperity of his tone in controversy, it allayed the undue fervor of his style, and refreshed the kinder and more gentle feelings of his nature. He appears to have been fully aware of the peculiar beauty of her character, and ever regarded her as the most precious blessing of his life.

At 9 o'clock, in the evening, on the 21st of December, the body of Herder was interred, with the usual funeral solemnities in the Ducal Church of Weimar. "The heavens," says one of his biographers, "which had been clouded over during the evening, shone brightly forth, as the funeral procession appeared, and shed down the light of their radiant stars, as if the glorified spirit were looking, from its serene abode among them, with friendly glances upon the deserted shell of mortality, and upon the loved ones who remained on earth."

A monument was afterwards erected over the grave by the Duke of Weimar inscribed with appropriate religious emblems, significant of eternity and of God, and the words, "*Licht, Liebe, Leben*" (Light, Love, Life),—a representation, says Müller, which expresses the sum of Herder's philosophy, his religion, his faith, his hope, and his love, the object of all his endeavours, and the true principle of his life.

The most important facts in the personal history of Herder are now before our readers, and we will close the present article, with a general sketch of his character.

He was a man of a happy physical organization; his frame, though not large, was muscular and powerful, but his nervous system delicate and susceptible. He delighted in exercise in the open air, and the daily use of it was indispensable to his health. His elastic temperament gave him a cheerful sentiment of existence, and contributed to the ease and buoyancy of his disposition. His intellectual eye and attractive countenance, as well as the spiritual tones of his voice, indicated the character of his mind, and made it impossible to mistake

him even in the midst of strangers. "Words," says Richter, "like sweet bees, flew from his flower-lips. He made me feel how much he loved God and every child."

The most prominent trait in Herder's character was his rigid sense of justice and honor. "Honor in feeling and in action," he would often say, "makes the power and life of man." This trait was blended with a native goodness of heart and tenderness of feeling, which prevented it from degenerating into an excessive severity. He was peculiarly susceptible to every attack upon his reputation. The suspicions, which every public man is sometimes obliged to encounter, in discharging the duties of his office, he keenly felt as a stain upon his honor. It was a trial, which he could ill endure, to be under the control of persons whose character he did not esteem. He frequently remarked, "that it was a violation of all the laws of nature, physical and moral, for the base and cunning to be intrusted with power; in nature the lower serves the higher, and in our moral relations and human institutions this law ought to be rigidly observed." For every thing mean, vulgar, selfish, deceitful, and false, for all presumption and tyranny, wherever displayed, he cherished a stern and bitter contempt. He often sunk into a profound sadness, when he saw his purest purposes for the moral and literary improvement of the community, entirely frustrated by envy and jealousy. In such moments he found consolation in pursuing his private labors, in communing with the spirit of the ancients, and in affectionate intercourse with his friends and family. The Bible, some volumes of the classics, a few old German poets, with the writings of Pascal and Bacon were usually on his table, and from their perusal he always obtained refreshment and strength. His soul lived in the lofty region of the Good, and to promote this on earth, to further the great interests of humanity, was the ceaseless aim of all his endeavours. But when he saw the noblest objects fail, and the most unworthy and pernicious purposes crowned with success, he could not but lament over the world, with his favorite Shakspeare, as "an unweeded garden," and wish that he might have "wings like a dove that he might flee away and be at rest."

Clearly as he foresaw the prevalence of evil times from the perverted spirit of the age, he never lost his hope of a better future, or became weary of new attempts to hasten its approach.

“Every good man,” he said, “was called upon in the sphere allotted to him, if not to produce better times, to prepare the way for them.” This faith was to him, as it were the kingdom of God, the very essence of his being. In the execution of his plans for the public benefit, like every man in advance of his age, or the state of society in which he lives, he was doomed to meet with frequent disappointments. These were often occasioned by the frankness of his character, which led him to announce his purposes to unworthy individuals, in hope of securing their aid, but who took advantage of the information thus obtained, to place every obstacle in his way. At other times, he was too negligent in using the proper means to acquire the favor of persons, who possessed influence and resources to promote his designs. He flattered himself too much with the hope that an object of public utility would gain a general sympathy and unite the efforts of others with his own. But when he was obliged to renounce any hope of success, he did not give way to discouragement, but set about the accomplishment of some new purpose. He was entirely free from the small vanity of wishing to be the principal agent in any important enterprise. His soul was filled with more lofty objects, than the indulgence of personal ambition; and, provided that the good which he had in view was achieved, he had no desire that it should be done by himself.

Herder always held genius and talent in the highest estimation, but attached far more importance to the disposition and moral character. He could never yield his homage even to the noblest genius, if it was not connected with sympathy for others, and an interest in the improvement of man. He often lamented that the spirit of the times regarded merely moral worth as of so little value. For the virtue, which was only the result of formal rules, without inward feeling, he had no respect. True genius, he contended, should be always united with a pure heart; and whenever he saw this union, he acknowledged the seal of God.

In his views with regard to the physical world, he has been accused of a tendency to mysticism, and, in the present state of science, it cannot be denied that there is some foundation for this reproach. He believed that there were certain powers of nature and of the soul, not yet explained by philosophy, in accordance with each other and with the known laws of the universe, upon which the human mind is yet to receive further



light. He was acquainted with the writings of the most celebrated mystics, but they did not satisfy him. He believed with them, however, that there are moments of inward abstraction, when the purified mind enjoys glimpses of the future and foresees the shadowy approach of coming events. With the genius of Shakspeare, which cast such deep glances into the hidden world of spirits, he cherished a lively sympathy, and on this account, besides his admiration of his great powers, preferred him to all other poets. His mind was in a constant state of communion with the invisible world. He was wont to indulge in presentiments concerning the future, and often expressed his firm conviction that he should not live to be old.

The organic forces of nature were always a favorite subject of investigation. He wished to penetrate into her secret laboratory, in order, if possible, to discover the laws of her spiritual activity. On this account, he took a deep interest in the progress of the physical sciences. The recent discovery of Galvanism, the improvements that were to be expected in Electricity and Magnetism, the geological system of Werner, the investigations of Camper and Sömmering in Physiology, and even the theories of Dr. Gall on the brain, strongly attracted his attention; and he often lamented that he was born too soon to be a witness of their results to science and humanity. The discovery of the laws of nature, and of their union and harmony with each other and with the universe, even in a moral point of view, was his favorite wish. He was accustomed to say, that "the progress of the human mind in scientific discoveries had introduced a clearer and more certain light into the world; in this path we must carry on the grand structure, and seek for greater certainty and truth, in our knowledge of nature's laws. We must no longer dwell in the twilight of former ages; but the germ of all human knowledge and action, which we have received from them, must become to us the germ of new life and new virtue. We must cultivate this germ, according to our present modes of conception, and the knowledge and power which we have acquired from the past; so that every truth, of which we become certain, may lead us more freely to the great spiritual objects of our being. As physical science receives new light, the operation of spiritual powers is confirmed, and the soul of man is elevated in reverence and love towards the Supreme Creator."

With these views of the knowledge of physical laws and of human nature, Herder regarded the influence of the Critical Philosophy as of the most pernicious character, tending to throw contempt on experience and observation, to substitute in their place the technical language and procedure of the schools, and to perplex the judgment even of the clearest minds. "That and the French Revolution," he would frequently remark, "have put us back a hundred years." At this distance of time and place from the scene of the controversies which then agitated Germany, we may be allowed to observe, that if the disciples of Kant were guilty of an error in elevating the Critical Philosophy to the rank of an absolute and exclusive system, the error of Herder was no less, in the bitterness with which he assailed it from a limited point of view, and the pertinacity with which he confounded its essential principles with their casual and temporary application. It must be admitted, however, in justice to Herder, that his attacks were principally directed against the extravagances of Kant's followers, rather than against the system as it was expounded by Kant himself.

In the relations of society, Herder displayed a serene and cheerful disposition, a lively sympathy with the joys and the sufferings of others, and a turn for humor and good-natured irony. This last trait never led him to pass the bounds of propriety, and it always grieved him when a sportive remark was misunderstood and construed as a matter of serious importance. He delighted to make one in those social circles where a free play of mind was enjoyed, and he was quite as ready to listen as to speak. His rich and manifold knowledge, his excellent judgment, the mild benevolence which shone in every feature of his face, his tender consideration for the feelings of others, and his entire forgetfulness of self, made him a most agreeable and instructive companion, so that men of genius and feeling were glad to cultivate an intimacy with him. In the intercourse of society, he permitted no one to be oppressed with a sense of his superiority, he never attempted to play the part of a great man. Towards the arrogant and assuming, he would, indeed, sometimes show himself harsh and inflexible, but the gentleness of his nature soon returned. He discussed every interesting subject of conversation with a wide reach of thought, and with great vivacity, but always with a sacred regard for truth. "There is only one truth in

every thing," said he, "and that truth is holy." With sophists, who attempted to pervert and undermine the truth, he had no patience; nor with the intellectual despots, who wished to force their own dogmatic decisions upon others, with an insolent disregard to the rights of personal opinion. His modest and sensitive nature could not meet such men on equal grounds, he did not understand the use of their weapons, and, in the last years of his life, as much as possible he avoided their society. He regarded them as a kind of social and moral assassins, and would not put himself in their power. In the common intercourse of life, he was unwilling to say any thing severe and unpleasant, even by the most distant allusion. In the discharge of his official duties, on the contrary, he would express his opinion, whatever it was, without concealment or disguise, scorning to flatter either friend, patron, or adversary. He abhorred every crooked path, every sly and cunning art. The practice, too well understood, of attempting to change falsehood to truth, and truth to falsehood, was the object of his indignation. This hypocrisy and time-serving was repugnant to his whole nature; and in his official relations he always opposed it with a manly courage. "If I accomplish nothing by it," he would remark, "it must be said as a sign and a testimony for the truth."

A few words with regard to the literary habits of one of the most eminent scholars in Germany will probably be acceptable to our readers. The industry of Herder was no less remarkable than his genius. He brought nothing before the public without careful and thorough preparation. When he undertook any literary labor, he digested the plan in his own mind, before he committed a word to paper. He usually chose for this purpose a solitary walk; and the serene expression of his countenance upon his return, indicated the success of his meditations. In the stillness of the morning he completed his plan, and then, for the first time, with a distinct perception of the whole subject, he wrote down his scheme in a tabular form. He composed rapidly and easily. His mind was impelled as by an unseen power; his ideas often deprived him of sleep. In the early part of his life, before his health was impaired, he commenced his labors at four or five in the morning. The forenoon was his favorite time for work, though he often protracted it until the hour of his afternoon's walk, and sometimes until late in the evening. He was never weary with intellec-



tual exertion, and never more cheerful than when laboring on a subject which interested his mind. But he would not touch a subject which had no interest for his feelings or his heart. If the charm of labor was weakened, as it sometimes was, by external circumstances, he would pause and wait for a congenial season. The ideas which employed his mind in the composition of his works, were often introduced into his sermons. In preparing these, he also had regard to any peculiar events in his own life or in the times, which were capable of being touched upon in the pulpit; and his sermons of this description were the most powerful and eloquent which he ever preached.

In the intervals of labor, his favorite recreation was found in visiting and in conversing with literary men, and particularly in poetry and music. In the summer season he delighted in a walk. On such excursions, he always carried a volume of some ancient or modern classic in his pocket.

He was fond of reading his productions, as they were finished, to some literary friend, for the sake of his corrections and advice. The opinions of others, in matters of taste and execution, he was generally willing to follow; but when any principle was involved, nothing could shake him from his own. On being once solicited to temper the severity of some remarks which he felt it his duty to make, as liable to give offence in his circle of society, he replied, "I write not for Weimar; I write for Germany, for the world."

The religious character of Herder may be best understood from the description which has been already given of his life. His religion was not a distinct and separate part of his nature, but intimately blended with every thought and feeling. It sent its vital current through every fibre of his being, and gave health and life and beauty to his whole character. His ideas of God, of the soul, and of Christianity, were of the most elevated and affecting nature. They breathed a holy influence over his heart, and made him, as has been justly said, the Fénélon of Protestantism.

The peculiar traits of his religious character grew out of his religious principles, and of these we propose to give an account in a future article on Herder's theological opinions and services. The translation of a passage from Jean Paul Richter (one of Herder's most intimate friends, and enthusiastic in his admiration of him, as in every thing else), which describes his impressions of his character, in his own peculiar and truly German

style of writing, may interest some of our readers, and will form an appropriate conclusion to the present article.

"This noble Spirit was misunderstood by opposite times and parties; perhaps, not altogether without his own fault; since he had the defect not to be a star of the first, or of any other specific magnitude, but was a cluster of stars, from which every one spelled out a favorite constellation for himself. Men with multifarious powers are always misunderstood; but seldom those who are limited to a single faculty.

"—— I was wandering in a lovely garden, until I had an unclouded prospect of the soft, rosy sunset. The nightingales warbled among the flowers; high above them the lark sung among the evening clouds; the Spring had passed through all the leafy groves, and left them hung with odorous blossoms, as her memorial; I thought of that Spirit, which (seldom as we may apply that abused name) I can call not otherwise than a great man. What genial delight he took in trees and flowers, drawing new life from the bosom of the country! Born, as it were with the love-potion of warm affection towards the whole universe, like an eastern Bramin, with his lofty Spinozism of heart, the smallest animal and every flower were dear to him. The travelling-carriage, passing through the green windings of life, was his Sun-chariot; and only under the open heavens, as if amid the music of nature, his heart serenely expanded itself, like a flower.

"Was he no poet, — as he often said of himself, judging by the Homeric or Shakspearian standard, — yet was he something better, namely, a Poem: an Indian-Grecian Epic, composed by the Holiest Maker. How can I attempt to analyze it, since in that beautiful soul, as in a poem, every thing was graciously blended, — the Good, the Beautiful, the True, inseparably united! Greece was to him supreme, and universally as his cosmopolitan taste gave praise and recognition, yet, in his declining years especially, like the far-travelled Ulysses on his return from many a flower land, he hung with the warmest love upon his Grecian home. Herder was formed after a Grecian model, copied from the life. Poetry was not to him merely an appendage in the horizon of life, — as we often see in a stormy sky, within the circle of our vision, a rainbow-colored mass of clouds, — but it hovered over the scenes of coarse and material life, lightly glancing like a rainbow from the gate of heaven. Hence his truly Grecian reverence for all degrees of life, his rightly-placing epic manner, in all his works, which, as a philosophical heroic poem, produced all ages, forms, nations, and spirits, with the power and impartiality of a Creator, before the eye of centuries, on the broad stage of the world. Hence his Grecian hostility against every turning of the scale to either side. Many storm- and torture-

poems could increase the agony which they inflicted on him, even to physical suffering, — therefore, in the Grecian spirit, he early drew around every emotion the lines of beauty, and often the softness of his Attic wit.

“ Few minds have been so truly learned, on a large scale, as his. Most persons seek only what is rare and unknown in a science; he, on the other hand, received only the great streams, but of all branches of knowledge, into his heaven-reflecting sea, which impressed upon them its own motion from the west to the east. Many are twined round with their learning, as with the exhausting ivy; he as with the rich clusters of the vine.

“ It was the nature of his mind to act, with organic force, in appropriating the widest opposites to itself; to surround the most bitter kernel with the sweetest shell. Thus he united the boldest freedom of speculation on Nature and God, with the most pious faith, even in forebodings and presentiments. Thus he displayed the Grecian humanity, to which he restored the name, in a tender reverence for all truly human relations, and in a Luther-like zeal against every poison, consecrated by religion or the state, that had been poured into them. How nobly, how irreconcilably did he burn with hostility to every creeping spirit, to all torpidity of soul, self-contradiction, unfairness, and poetical effeminacy, as well as to the coarseness of German criticism, and every sceptre in brutal hands! How did he imprecate the serpents of his age! But would you hear the sweetest voice which was ever uttered from human mouth, listen to his tones of love, — whether towards a child, or a poem, or music, — or of tenderness towards the weak.

“ When he describes his friend Hamann as an inspired prophet, — when we hear his sorrowful exclamation that his true world and island of friendship has sunk with him into the grave, — we then perceive, from this secret yearning, that he judged far more austere of the age than we had supposed, from the tolerance and universality which he exhibited. Hence his works are pervaded with a hidden irony, sometimes Socratic, sometimes Horatian, which only his familiar friends understand. Generally speaking, he was little comprehended; in particulars, and not in the whole, was he weighed and estimated; this can only be done by the diamond scales of posterity, from which are removed the flint-stones with which the rude scribblers, the still ruder Kantians, and the rough poetasters of his day, would sometimes stone and sometimes enlighten him.

“ His kind spirit gave much and suffered much. Two sayings of his remain, without significance perhaps to others, but to me always fruitful of the deepest thought. One, which he uttered on a Sunday, as he heard the sound of the church-bell, floating down as it were from past centuries, and reminding him, by contrast, of



these cold and barren times : — he wished that he had been born in the middle ages. The other was of a different character : — that he wished he might see a spirit, and that he should feel no horror at such a sight. O, the pure, spiritually-sympathizing soul ! To such a soul was this possible, — poetical as it was, and much as such souls are wont to shudder before the deep, still shadows, that rise and dwell on the other side of the dead ! For this soul itself was a spirit-apparition upon the earth, and never forgot its native clime.

“ He comes before me now, — not in the increase of glory with which men are consecrated by death, — but from his distant eminence, with the same splendor which always surrounded him on earth. I think of him on high, beyond the stars, as in his true place, delivered from the pains of mortality, but else unchanged. Go, then, above, thou pure, thou spirit-friend ! celebrate thy harvest-feast. Let the crown of autumn sheaves adorn thy head, instead of the flowers of spring. We will now love together thy great Soul ; and if its remembrance sometimes brings a pang of grief, we will again peruse the sacred lines, in which it has announced the Immortal, the God-like, and Itself.”

---

#### NOTE.

In the commencement of this article, we have alluded to “Taylor’s Historic Survey of German Poetry” in terms of decided censure. The merits of that veteran writer in promoting the study of German literature in Great Britain, are not unknown to us, nor the encomium passed upon him by the admirable Translator of “The Characteristics of Goethe.” That accomplished lady remarks of him, “that, though she dissents from his view of the general tendency of German literature, she unites admiration for his talents and learning, to an almost hereditary respect for his person and character.” \* We feel that it would be presumptuous to express an unfavorable opinion of an individual, whom so eminent a judge in these matters as Mrs. Austin deems worthy of her praise, without supporting it by competent proof. A few examples of his mistakes, taken from his account of Herder, may suffice for our justification.

Vol. III. p. 9. Mr. Taylor says, “that Herder was admitted into the family of Trescho, in a nominally menial capacity, but was suffered to play with the children of his master, and to partake the lessons of Latin and Greek, which they daily received from their father.”

Trescho had no children. He lived unmarried, and Herder was admitted to his house only as a lodger and amanuensis. His board he received at his father’s, and his instruction at the Mohrunen public school, taught by Grimm. This error was probably copied from “Jördan’s Lexicon,” or some of the Journals which appeared soon after Herder’s death. Mr. Taylor could not have made use of very authentic materials in the preparation of his work, for this error is alluded to and

---

\* Characteristics of Goethe. Vol. II. p. 240.

expressly contradicted in "Herder's Leben," by Carl Ludwig Ring, which was published nearly ten years before the "Historic Survey."

See *Herder's Leben*, von Ring. Carlsruhe. 1822. p. 12.

*Erinnerungen aus dem Leben von Herder, Erster Theil*, pp. 25, 51. Stuttgart, 1830. First edition, 1819.

Ibid. Mr. Taylor says, "that a Russian physician, who came to visit the Trescho family, heard, with interest, the praise of young Herder's industry and attainments, and obtained leave for taking him to Petersburg, where he thought it would be easy to get him a situation as preceptor." Trescho, as we have seen, had no family. The Russian physician was a surgeon in the army, who, returning with his regiment from a campaign, took up winter-quarters in Mohrunen, where he became acquainted with Trescho. His proposal to Herder was to accompany him to Königsberg and study medicine.

See *Erinnerungen*, &c. p. 35. *Herder's Leben*, pp. 20, 21.

Page 10, Mr. Taylor intimates "that Herder engaged in the study of Theology for the sake of obtaining a stipend from the University, and that his friend the surgeon approved of the plan."

Herder abandoned the study of medicine against the wishes of his patron; and it was not until after he had determined to study theology, that he applied for admission into the University.

See *Erinnerungen*, &c. pp. 54, 55. *Herder's Leben*, pp. 24, 25.

Ibid. Mr. Taylor, in speaking of Kant, says, "that Herder, for a time, at least, became an attached disciple of this original thinker, who concealed the boldness of his double doctrine, under the veil of a pedantic, but precise phraseology." Kant had no double doctrine; nor was Herder ever, for a moment, his disciple. He admired his character, but could not abide his philosophy.

On the same page, Mr. Taylor has a long note on Kant, in which it is hard to say, whether the affectation of the style, or the misrepresentation of facts, is the most remarkable. It is enough to observe, that he speaks of the "notorious Gallicanism of Kant's opinions which must endear him to the patriotism of the philosophers of the Lyceum." Gallicanism of Kant's opinions, indeed! A greater contradiction could hardly be put together. What would Coleridge have said to this, who idolized Kant, and thanked God that he had never learned the French language!

P. 14. Speaking of the disease in the eye, from which Herder suffered from his childhood, Mr. Taylor says, "that it attacked him latterly, and somewhat diminished the noble impression of his countenance, and much impaired his satisfaction in study."

The truth is, this disorder had been a source of great annoyance to Herder, when young, but seems hardly to have been thought of amid the infirmities of his later years.

With regard to Mr. Taylor's estimate of Herder's character, we will only say, that he appears to have misconceived it throughout, and is quite as much at war with truth in his general reflections upon it, as in his exhibition of particular facts. If the other portions of his work contain as many errors of judgment and perversions of fact, as his account of Herder, it will be regarded by future scholars only as a record of the ignorance and presumption of the author.

ART. IV. — *The Happiness of the Blessed, considered as to the Particulars of their State; their Recognition of each other in that State; and its Difference of Degrees. To which are added, Musings on the Church and her Services.*

By RICHARD MANT, D. D., M. R. F. A., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. Philadelphia. 1833. 12mo. pp. 188.

THE writings of Bishop Mant are not much known in this country, and their character and style are not such as to ensure them popularity. Their calm good sense, and steady, sober piety, will nevertheless recommend them to readers who esteem those qualities; while the lovers of religious poetry will be pleased with many of the hymns and sonnets with which the bishop is fond of interspersing his prose. An entertaining, a striking, an eloquent writer, Bishop Mant cannot pretend to be; but they who look not for excitement, will find him to be useful to the calmer wants of their souls, and will learn to respect him as a grave and judicious friend.

A considerable portion of the small volume before us, is occupied in discussing the evidence, and especially the Scriptural evidence, of the doctrine of a recognition of friends in the future state. It is on this account that we introduce the present mention of the work, in connexion with some remarks which we purpose to make ourselves on that deeply interesting subject.

When we ask for Scriptural evidence of the reunion of friends in a future state, are we not answered by every passage from Scripture which speaks of that state as a social one? — and the fact is, that it is spoken of there in no other way. Whether the mention is incidental, or direct, it constantly presents heaven to our thoughts as a place or state in which the righteous shall meet together, not exist separately. If we listen to Jesus, we hear him declare, that where he is his disciples shall be also. — If we turn to the Epistles, Paul tells us, that when Christ, our life, shall appear, we also shall appear with him in glory; and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews points with rapture to the “general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven.” If we pass over to that grand vision which concludes the books of the New Testament, we hear in heaven “as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, and the voice of harpers harping with their harps.” The blessed in



heaven are always represented as being in society, as being with their brethren, with angels, with their Saviour, and with their God.

Now hardly any thing can seem to be plainer, than that, as heaven is a social and not a solitary state, they who live together there must know each other, and that they who knew each other here must know each other there. And it is one of the most reasonable of all propositions, that if we carry any affections with us into the future state, they will fly first of all to salute those, who in this state were their cherished objects. When a mother joins the heavenly company of the redeemed, will she not, if she retains any thing of her former self and nature, if she has not lost her identity and the consciousness of it, will she not ask for "the babe she lost in infancy"? If she is herself, she will ask for it. If God is good, she will find it, know it, embrace it. How she will find it, by what marks know it, and with what exercises renew her love, must be left for immortality to reveal; but the rest, the simple fact of recognition is plain, — so plain that we are disposed to think that the reason why so little is said in the Scriptures of future recognition, is, that it was considered as naturally implied and involved in the fact of a future social state. On such a subject, intimation is equivalent to distinct declaration, and is sometimes even more forcible. Let us see if there are not such intimations of future recognition to be found in the Scriptures, as amount to a declaration of the fact, because they cannot be fully explained except on a supposition of the fact.

Recognition is intimated by exhortations to comfort on the loss of friends. The burthen of our sorrow in the loss of those whom we love, is, that we have lost their society, which was the very dearest thing on earth to us; the most applicable consolation which can be offered to alleviate this burthen, is, that their society is not lost to us for ever, that we shall enjoy it once more, that we shall meet again. Now, what says St. Paul, in his epistle to the Thessalonians. "I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." Beautiful words of assurance and comfort! How soothingly they fall on the wounds of the heart! Well counsels the Apostle soon after, "Wherefore comfort one another with these words."

And what makes them so peculiarly comforting? Not simply the assurance of restoration to life, a waking up of those who have fallen asleep, but the idea of collection, association, reunion, which the language supposes, and which is so pertinent to the case of separation to which they are addressed. As Jesus rose from the dead, even so God will awaken and bring *with* him, those who slept in him; "and so," says the Apostle, "shall we ever be with the Lord." We, who have been parted, shall again be united, and Christ shall be our head, and we shall part no more. That is consolation; consolation which exactly meets the case of distress.

To illustrate this by a comparison, let us suppose it to be necessary that a whole family, united by the tenderest mutual affection, should remove from the land where they had been brought up together, to another land, which is distant indeed, but far better; and to be equally necessary that they should remove, not all together, but one by one, and that there should be an interval of a considerable space of time between each removal. When one member of this family departed for the place of his destination, what would be the most appropriate consolation which could be offered to those who remained behind? Would they be fully comforted by being told, that he who had just gone away, had gone to a country, which enjoyed a more delightful climate than that which he had left; where he would live in health and at ease, and that they themselves would in due season be called to the same country, though to be sure they would live in different parts of it, and not be allowed to see each other any more? Would they be satisfied with this account of their dispersion, though it were to take place in "a land which is the joy of all lands"? It would be imperfect consolation compared with the assurance that in that far, happy land they were to be reunited, after the term of their temporary separation, and renew the intercourse, which in a bleak clime and a barren country had constituted their joy and their wealth. That would be consolation; and such a reunion would be implied, and would naturally be considered as implied, if they were told by a sympathizing friend not to sorrow for their loss as the hopeless sorrow, but to look forward to the land where their relative had gone, and to which they were to be taken themselves.

Other passages, besides the one above adduced, might be quoted, containing intimations to the same purpose. They are

not direct declarations of the fact of recognition, but we cannot read them without supposing that the fact was in the writer's mind ; and that indeed he had no other thought on the subject, but that he should certainly know, after the resurrection, those whom he had known before.

The Scriptural evidence in favor of future reunion and recognition, with which the deductions of probability, the inferences of reason, and the dictates of the affections well coincide, amounts to this. Heaven is a social state. If we and our friends are found worthy of an entrance into that state, we shall form a part of its society, and consequently remember and know each other. They who were near to us here, if they are also near unto God, will be near to us there ; and, other things being equal, they will be nearer to us than others, simply because we have known them more and longer, and loved them better, than others, and have associations with them so interwoven with our earthly or former life, that they can scarcely be destroyed or disturbed except with our consciousness and memory.

Nor can we see that the restoration of friends to each other's society in a future state, is inconsistent with that universal and heavenly love which will animate the bosoms of all the blessed. Particular affection for those with whom we have been particularly connected, is not inconsistent with a kind and generous affection for many friends, for all the good from all ages and all countries of the world, to whom the better country will be the great and final meeting-place. The ground of this particular affection is, the relation which individuals have held toward each other in this life ; and this life, though short in duration, and poor and unimportant when compared with the next, is yet the introduction to the next, the scene of probation for the next, the life in which our affections and virtues have been formed and educated, and have acquired their private associations ; and it is therefore not to be supposed that all this is to be made a blank hereafter, as if it had never been. "And when we reflect," says Bishop Mant, "on the pleasure which is imparted to our minds by being admitted, after long separation, to the society of those whom we have known and loved from early years, but from whom we have been constrained to endure a temporary separation ; and on the special delight which we experience from renewing, in communion with them, old but dormant affections, retracing in conversation the events of



scenes gone by, and dwelling upon affairs of mutual personal interest ; a delight which the formation of no new acquaintance, however virtuous, however intelligent, however amiable, is for the most part found capable of conferring ; it may be thought probable, that among their future associates, considered as constituents of the happiness of the blessed, those whom they have formerly known and loved and cherished, will be comprehended ; and that the company of the spirits of other just men made perfect, will not preclude a readmission to the fellowship of their former connexions and friends." In short, let it only be premised that friends are worthy of each other's love in heaven, and it is no more than rational to suppose, that they will derive a peculiar satisfaction in each other's society there, from the circumstances with which Providence had bound them together during their sojourn on earth.

But here an objection has been made, founded on the question of worthiness. If some with whom the good have been connected here below, should, from their unworthiness, be excluded from the delights and the society of heaven, the good, it has been said, will, on the supposition of their knowing this, suffer pain, and pain cannot be suffered in heaven.

A few considerations may remove this objection. In the first place, though pain will not be suffered in heaven, there is no reason to believe that a certain degree of regret may not, and that this regret will be so consonant with our sense of justice, that happiness will not thereby be essentially disturbed. Heaven is represented as a place where there will be "no more pain." This is in order to give an idea of its exemption from the accidents and deaths, the sorrows and alarms, to which we are subject here. But such a representation of future bliss, by no means excludes the idea of imperfection. And if the soul is to make progress hereafter, and rise from glory to glory, and from one step of happiness to another, the idea of imperfection must be necessarily attached to such a state, because a state of improvement must needs be a state of imperfection. God himself is the only and absolutely perfect. If we are continually advancing nearer to him, we may be satisfied, grateful, and happy, whether on earth or in heaven, and infinitely more happy, doubtless, in heaven than on earth, on account of the many glorious circumstances which will attend our great change. But if we remember our former selves, we must remember our former sins of transgression and omission, and this remembrance

will produce regret, and this regret, without preventing our enjoyment of heaven's felicities, will, together with other causes, maintain within us a constant humility, a virtue which will not lose its lustre and value amidst the brightest glories of the New Jerusalem. If, therefore, we may remember with regret our own past offences, without losing the privilege of heavenly happiness, we may likewise view with regret the banishment of some of those with whom we were connected on earth by the ties of nature or habit, and yet be so enlightened with regard to the justice and beneficial ends of that banishment, as not to experience therefrom any suffering which would embitter or be inconsistent with celestial blessedness.

Secondly, it must be considered, that vile conduct does alienate brother from brother, and impair affection here on earth. May it not, therefore, be presumed that the good will not take with them into a future state any strong affection, or any other than compassion, for those whose vices have estranged affection, and weakened, if not broken, the bonds of nature and of love. "And it may be," again observes Bishop Mant, "since God's rational creatures are dear to him according to their moral excellence, and since the blessed in the future state will be 'like God'; it may be, that their *affection* toward those, who, in their earthly relation, were naturally the objects of it, will be regulated by this likeness to the Divine nature; and that, whilst it will be ratified, confirmed, and strengthened with respect to such as partake of their Father's blessing, and are objects of his love, it will be annihilated with respect to those who are banished from his presence, and pronounced aliens from his affectionate regard." In one sense, God loves and must for ever love all his creatures,—but the love which he bears toward those who have remembered and kept his commandments, must be of a different character from that which he bears toward those who have forgotten and disobeyed him. And so in a similar manner will the love which the beatified feel for those with whom they walk in heaven as they have walked on earth, be different from the love which they feel for those who wandered from them on earth and meet them not in heaven. God's love for the latter demands their punishment, and the love of his servants toward them will not question its infliction. They will bow before the Supreme Wisdom and Goodness. They cannot regard as their friends those who are not the friends of God. And in this view, it may be said, that

the righteous in the future world will have all their friends with them. They who are not with them cannot be their friends.

And yet memory will be faithful, and love may plead. And here we come to a consideration which may obviate the difficulty advanced better than any other, and on which better than on any other we like to dwell. Though we fully believe that the wicked will be punished hereafter, and will not undertake to deny that they may not retain their wicked dispositions, and thus bring on themselves perpetual punishment, we do not believe that their wickedness or their punishment is necessarily and inevitably eternal. We believe that God's punishments hereafter, as his chastisements here, are designed to be corrective, and that on many, if not on all, they will have a correcting, reforming, and consequently restoring influence. We also believe, according to Apostolic teaching, that "charity never faileth," no, not in heaven. And so we believe that it may extend its pitying and saving regards to those who most need them, to those who have made themselves outcasts from the heavenly country, the city of our God. In what errand, in what duty can the blessed be more celestially employed, than in bringing back, or endeavouring to bring back, into the family of the redeemed, those erring and lost ones, to whom nature had formerly bound and endeared them? May it not be one of the employments, one of the most glorious employments and crowning pleasures, of those who have been saved themselves, to be made instrumental in restoring others, who once were dear, to that peace of spirit which they have madly destroyed, to that heaven which they have justly forfeited? O who that has been found worthy to be a partaker "of the inheritance of the saints in light," would hesitate to forego for a time, and time after time, the society and the joys of his blissful abode, that he might work upon the heart of one whom he had numbered among his family on earth, and place him once more in the same mansion with himself? Who would not pray before the mercy-seat to be sent on such a mission of mercy? "Let me go," he might say, "let me go to the exile, and persuade him to return. He has suffered long. Long has he been wailing in outer darkness. Remorse must have visited his burning heart. Solitude and anguish must have broken down his perverseness. He was not always perverse and wicked. Through the long vista of ages I can see him as he once was. He once was a happy child, an inno-



cent child, affectionate and ingenuous, and pure as the light which beamed from his eyes or played on his clustering hair. I have held him in my arms. I have watched his smiles, and dried his tears. I loved him once. O that I might cherish him again! that I might bear to him thy forgiveness! that I might bring him back to happiness, to heaven, and to Thee!" Would not the Universal Father grant the prayer? Can it be proved to us, that the saints and angels are not and will not be occupied in fulfilling his restoring purposes? Are we told, that between the saved and the lost there is a great gulf fixed, so that they who would pass and repass cannot do so? We will not insist that this argument is drawn from merely the illustrative part of a parable, which is not intended to convey either doctrine or fact; but will grant, that there must needs be a profound separation between the happy and the wretched, the acquitted and the condemned, in the future state; a separation which neither party can pass over at will. And yet, by the permission of the Almighty, and on messages of his own grace and compassion, that gulf may be passed; and what gulf can there be too wide for the wings of love, too deep or broad for the passage of charity?

The considerations which have been mentioned, are abundantly sufficient, to our mind, to obviate the difficulty which they have been brought forward to answer. But if they were less convincing, if the difficulty remained in its full force, yet the doctrine of future recognition would not be disproved. No objection drawn from a probable state of painful feeling for the wicked, could overthrow the fact that heaven is a social condition of being, on which fact the doctrine of the mutual recognition of friends in heaven still would rest unmoved. This fact should be sufficient to content and console us. Heaven is a social state, a city, a kingdom, a church, in which there is a great assembly, an innumerable company, and in which the innocent and good, the servants of the King Eternal, the spiritual and true worshippers of the Father, will meet together, and know each other, and never be separated any more. There the parent will see the child, improved by heavenly culture, and listen to the voice, now made more musical, which in days gone by was the sweetest music he ever heard. There the child will find the parent, and hear from him those words of love and wisdom which were early lost to him on earth. There brother and sister will meet again, and

exchange again that confidence and sympathy which passed between them and united them here. There the widowed wife will meet the husband, and the husband the wife; and though they will be as the angels, where there is no marrying nor giving in marriage, the ties and affections of earth will not be forgotten, and in spirit they twain will be one.

Years soon finish their revolutions. A few more incidents, and the scene of mortal life is closed. Time hastens to restore that which we thought it was too hasty in demanding. Death promptly repairs as well as destroys, rejoins as well as divides, is cruel and kind in quick succession. "All the days of my appointed time will I wait," said the patient man, "till my change come." The last change cannot be long in coming to any. "All the days of my appointed time will I wait," is the language of every pious spirit, "till my change come." All the days are but few. I will wait, and hope, and cheerfully trust, till they are gone. The distance can be but small which keeps me from those whom I have loved, and yet love, and, in the presence of God and my Redeemer, and in the light of heaven, shall continue to love for ever.

"Pass a few fleeting moments more,  
And death the blessing shall restore  
Which death hath snatched away;  
For me thou wilt the summons send,  
And give me back my parted friend,  
In that eternal day."

---

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. V. — *Essay on the Doctrine of Divine Influence.* —  
Concluded.

I. DISMISSING, therefore,\* the doctrine of the supernatural character of the Divine Influence as it operates upon the human mind, we next observe that there is no sufficient reason for believing that this Influence is "*specially*" communicated, in the modern or "revival sense" of the word. The terms *supernatural* or *miraculous* used in this connexion, have been,

---

\* See Christian Examiner for March, 1835, pp. 50 - 84.

as we have already suggested, for reasons not distinctly avowed, laid aside by some of the more recent and able writers on this subject, though the thought is still contained or implied in the general tenor of their language, and in many of the authorized formularies of that faith, to which they still professedly adhere. We feel justified in making this remark; for if they who use the term "*special*" and those analogous to it, in reference to this subject, would accurately define the ideas attached to these terms, they would find, that, in removing from them every thing that is strictly miraculous, much, if not all, that is distinctive in them as applied to spiritual influence, would be taken away.

What then is intended to be conveyed by the term "*special*" as thus used. Are we referred for the meaning to the *effects* of the Spirit, in what are called, in these modern times, "*revivals*" of religion? This is commonly done. We are directed, with a decisive and triumphant air, by those who use the phrase, and advocate the doctrine, whatever it may be, that is denoted by it, to the alleged effects of the Holy Spirit as manifested in these seasons of excitement, as decisive evidences of their "*special*" character. They "*would as soon doubt,*" they tell us, "*of their own existence, as that these effects proceeded from this influence.*" But what effects? All? By no means. None, certainly, but those which are "*genuine.*" But which are genuine? Here there is no criterion. The test fails, precisely where its discriminative power is needed. Edwards, the great authority, says, that in these times of excitement there are *no* "*unerring signs*" of "*gracious affections,*" that is, of those which are caused by the "*special*" agency of the Spirit. Stoddard, a great "*Revivalist*" in his day, as quoted by Edwards, observes, "*All visible signs are common to converted and unconverted men; and a relation of experiences, among the rest.*" And of more than twenty modern divines, all high authorities on this point, whose letters are appended to Dr. Sprague's "*Lectures on Revivals of Religion,*" and all of whom believe, with an undoubting confidence, that these revivals are the work of the "*Special*" Influence of the Spirit, none pretend to be wiser than their great hierarch Edwards on this subject; but all coincide, in a strong, sensible, and edifying manner, in denouncing the mistakes, delusions, excesses, and counterfeit conversions, which usually prevail at such times. They unite, with



one voice, in declaring that the fairest and most promising appearances, in these seasons of excitement, are always liable to be delusive. What then is the value of this test of *fact* or *experience* in ascertaining the true nature of the "Special" Influences of the spirit? We are directed to certain results in a "genuine" revival. But what revival is genuine, none at *the time* pretend to decide; and we are thus carried back to that point in the inquiry, from which we originally started. And if it be to the *remote* effects of revivals, as manifested in a good and holy life, to which we are referred, in proof of their genuineness, as is the fact; \* then we assert that it is impossible for any one inferior to the Omniscient Being himself, to determine, amidst the countless moral influences which are continually operating upon the character, what part of this good and holy life is to be ascribed to the efficacy of this alleged "special" influence of the spirit of God in the season of such a religious excitement. In this point of view also, the criterion is vague and unsatisfactory.

What, then, we are constrained to inquire, is meant by the term "special" as applied to the influences of the Spirit? Is it meant that these influences are experienced at certain times and places, *more* than at others, without bringing into view the precise nature of these influences as supernatural or not?† If this be all, we have no difficulty in admitting the fact, though we object wholly to the propriety of the term "special" as thus applied. Undoubtedly there are seasons when the minds of individuals are more open to religious impressions, and more deeply penetrated with a sense of religious responsibility, than at others; and it is true, also, that this

---

\* See the very judicious Essay of Dr. Woods, prefixed to the "Lectures" above mentioned.

† By many of the definitions which are given of "revivals," as they are called, this is all that is conveyed. We quote one from many, in the "Letters" before referred to. It is that by Dr. Wayland. "By revivals of religion, I mean special seasons in which the minds of men, within a certain district, or in a certain congregation, are more than usually susceptible of impression from the exhibition of moral truth."—p. 236. Waiving the logical inaccuracy, and confusion of thought which is involved in thus making a "revival" a *season* or *time* merely, instead of an agency, or act, or result, which we suppose was meant, we have no objection to this definition, and most earnestly desire that such revivals may be very frequent in all our churches.

state of mind is often extended by sympathy, and skilful use of well known means, to communities. But there is nothing which can properly be called "special" in this agency of God upon the human mind. This is only that "common" or "ordinary" influence, which by Edwards and all subsequent writers of the same common stamp, is distinguished from that "saving" operation which is vouchsafed to the "saints."

We are thus obliged to seek, yet further, for the true import of the term "special" as applied to divine influence. And the only remaining signification that we can gather from the writings of those who have thus appropriated the word is, that it denotes a divine influence imparted at certain times and places and to certain individuals or bodies of men, *while it is withholden from others*. It is this latter circumstance, particularly, which renders this communication of divine influence "special," where it is said to be made. In conformity with this idea, such unscriptural expressions as "clouds of mercy," and "showers of grace," are used to denote that certain districts and small portions of the earth are peculiarly visited by God's gracious presence; and "seasons of refreshing" are spoken of, as periods when an extraordinary "effusion" of divine love is "poured out."

Our first remark on this doctrine is, that it is unscriptural. It has not any direct support in the Scriptures; and it is opposed to all the leading and plainly declared truths respecting the character and government of God, which the Scriptures do contain. Both these positions we shall endeavour to establish in as few words as possible.

In regard to the first point, namely, that the doctrine in question is unwarranted by Scripture, we refer, in proof, to what has already been urged on the total want of Scriptural evidence of the *supernatural* communication of a divine influence. The argument is the same in both cases. The alleged "special" influence communicated to numbers of persons, both under the old and new dispensation, was strictly miraculous; and there is not only no proof that this miraculous agency was extended to any age subsequent to that of the Apostles and that of their immediate followers, but the peculiar circumstances of the case, as we have already shown, *limited* this agency to them.

But in the next place, the doctrine is directly opposed to what the Scriptures *do* declare respecting the character and

government of God. We need not fill our pages with quotations familiar to all. It will be admitted that we are taught in God's revealed word, in a vast variety of phraseology, and in very numerous statements and examples, that our heavenly Father is equally good to all, in all times and in all places. But this cannot be true if He is "specially" good to some, at certain particular times and places. The Scriptures teach that His mercy is from everlasting to everlasting, equally extending to all generations of men. But this is not to be reconciled with the fact, that this mercy is sometimes vouchsafed, and sometimes withholden. The Scriptures teach that in God there is no variableness or shadow of change. But this cannot be so, if He smiles to-day, and frowns to-morrow; or if, in respect to this or that little spot of earth, He now gives and now withhold expressions of His divine regard. The Scriptures teach that He is the common Father and Friend of all His creatures; and that, as the fountain, so the stream, of His paternal love is ever flowing and ever full, and ever open to the faithful and earnest inquirer. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that He chooses certain individuals, or certain communities, at certain specified periods, as the "special" objects of His pardon and beneficence, while, meantime, all the rest of His human family are not thus graciously visited, but are for this period at least, excluded from a participation of the favor? The Scriptures teach, as the words of the Saviour himself, that God will "give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him." But can this be true, if, in point of fact, He will only give it to certain individuals, at certain times and places, whether it is asked or not? It seems to us that these statements of Scripture, and the doctrine in question, cannot both stand together. One must give place. And we cheerfully leave it to the candid and serious inquirer to determine which it shall be.

Our next objection to the doctrine in question, is, that it is derogatory to all just and elevated views of the character of God. It represents him, not as a Being of uniform and unchangeable goodness, but as inconstant and capricious in the bestowment of his favors; not as the everlasting and ever present Father and Friend of all his creatures, but as partial in the allotment of his goodness, equally in regard to person, place, and time. We do not assert, and we are happy not to think, that this is intended by the more intelligent of those



who advocate and press the doctrine. But it is, we apprehend, the necessary inference from it; and it is, in point of fact, the impression which is generally received from it. What should we think of a father of a numerous family, who should, at some particular time, and on grounds of preference known only to himself, select from his children one or two individuals, inhabiting some favored spot, as the objects of his "special" favor, and "pass by" all the rest, with only an ordinary expression of good will, and this, too, without any especial merit on the part of the favored ones, and while all the rest equally desired, and equally sought, and equally labored, and, so far as conduct is concerned, equally *deserved* these special tokens of his love? Would not this be justly deemed an instance of favoritism? Would it not be considered essentially partial and unjust? But how does it differ from the case before us? The "special" and peculiar presence of God, in saving the souls of men, is said to be manifested in a certain place, and in the midst of a certain community. That place and that community are considered as being extraordinarily favored. Here it is, for the time, that the "clouds of mercy" gather. Here it is, for the time, that the "showers of grace" descend. Here it is, for the time, that the "effusion of the Spirit" is poured out. An allusion, and, as it seems to us, an ignorant, or, at least, a scarcely reverent allusion, is made to the day of Pentecost, as if the age of miracles had not passed away, and as if there was the slightest similarity in the circumstances of the two events. The Spirit of God is said to come down "like a mighty, a rushing mighty wind." Thanks are offered for this "special season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." This is declared to be the "accepted" time, and, it may be, the only accepted time for repentance, at that particular period and place. There must be no delay, no, not for an instant, in taking advantage of this propitious season, lest it pass away, never, never to return, and the sinner then and there be left to hopeless despair. Tidings of its approach and progress are spread over the broad land. It is announced from pulpit to pulpit. It is recognised by thousands of sympathizing spirits in prayer. Newspapers and tracts take up the intelligence, and send it into every nook and corner of the country. Its heralds are found in the village and in the town; at the corners of the streets, and around the domestic hearth. Minute

chronicles are kept of its duration and results. Individual cases of what are thought to be proofs of its presence are given with a minute and offensive particularity. Those struggles of the soul with itself, which instinctively shun all public observation, are brought into open day, and exposed to the common gaze. The first alarm; the subsequent gloom; the raging of the yet unsanctified passions; the wrestling, as it is irreverently called, of the yet unsubdued spirit with Almighty God; the sinking energies and last throbbings of the spent and passive soul; and then the upward series of the glimmering hope; the brightening joy; the decisive change; and finally, the rapturous, and, may we not say, the presumptuous confidence of pardon sealed, and heaven secured;—all these are recorded, sent abroad, and learned by rote, as examples of the “special” influences of the Spirit of God. But wherefore is it that this particular spot is thus made, for the time, the resting-place of the ark of safety? None can tell. The blessed boon may have been sought and toiled and prayed for by these very individuals years before, but in vain. What becomes of the other tens of thousands of communities of Christians, who are not thus “specially” visited, even of those, too, who sympathize in the same belief, and are divided, it may be, by a merely arbitrary line of township or parish from the favored one? They are left out of that circle to which the “special” blessing of God is confined. And wherefore? None can tell. They have sought and toiled and prayed with equal faith and earnestness as those who enjoy the peculiar favor; but it is in vain. They are still left barren, and unrefreshed by these “showers of grace.” Now, how does this differ from the case we have supposed, of a father selecting a portion of his children, at some particular time and place, as the peculiar objects of his love and care, while all the rest are “passed by” with only an ordinary expression of his good will? And if this would be considered an instance of favoritism, partiality, and injustice, in the earthly parent, can we avoid a similar inference, shocking as it is, in regard to our Heavenly Father?

Again; the doctrine in question seems to us to destroy, or greatly to impair, the force of that fundamental truth of our religion, that the whole of this life, wheresoever passed, is a season of probation. Probation means trial. And, in the very idea of trial is implied the opportunity of succeeding in our efforts. But according to the doctrine under remark, the op-

portunity of success is narrowed down to a very short and very uncertain period, granted we know not how or why, and one which, unimproved, may never occur again. This is obviously opposed to the whole tenor of the Scriptures. We are there taught that the whole of our conscious and rational life in this world, is "probation's day"; that God's gracious promises are open to us while this day lasts; that it is never too early to seek his mercy, and it is never too late to despair of obtaining it.

And, in respect to the practical effects of the doctrine upon those who are not the subjects of this "special" grace, must they not be deplorable? Will it not be the reasoning of many, that where the chances of success are so few, both in regard to time and place, it will be hardly worth while to enter on the hard discipline which can alone place them among the candidates for obtaining it? Is it not a fact, too, that, in those places which are thought to have been visited by this "special" presence of the Spirit, there are many, who, not having been the subjects of the requisite excitement, are left in wretchedness and despair, as if for them the "accepted time" were past? And are there not many, also, who, by the same thought, are driven to indifference, to recklessness, and to utter disregard of all religion?

And now will it be said that these remarks proceed on a mistaken view of the doctrine? Will it be pretended that all that is meant to be asserted by it, is, that there are certain seasons, conjunctures, places, and circumstances, which are eminently and peculiarly fitted to impress and awaken the sinner? We reply, that, if this were all, we should have spared ourselves and our readers the trouble of remarking on a truth so plain and undisputed. But this is not all. The language in which the doctrine is stated and urged does not *admit* of this construction. This language, further, is not *intended* to convey this impression; and what is decisive on this point, is, that the impression which is in reality conveyed by it, and is known, by those who use it, to be conveyed by it, is different from, and irreconcilable with, this explanation of the doctrine. It is said, in so many words, that God's Spirit is "*specially*" and peculiarly "*poured out upon*" certain places and persons, at certain times. Its approach, its continuance, its effects, and its departure, are, as we have said, accurately described. The most earnest and vehement entreaties, exhortations, and appeals, are



used to induce men to avail themselves of it. They are told that it is a "special season of grace," that there is a "peculiar outpouring" of the Spirit, which, if neglected, may never occur again. And the horrible ingratitude, and the still more horrible consequences, of disregarding this "special manifestation" of the Spirit, are denounced in the most fearful and tremendous terms. And will any say that all that is meant by this, is, that certain circumstances, and certain periods, are better fitted than others to produce religious impressions? Can any say this?

III. Our next general remark on the manner in which the influences of the Spirit are manifested, is, that they are not, in themselves, *distinguishable* from the ordinary operations of the human mind.

And, in illustration of this, we first observe, that to assert that they are thus distinguishable, is to assert that a miracle is wrought, as often as the Divine Spirit is thus manifested. And this appears from the fact, that in ordinary states of the mind, it is influenced, as we have had repeatedly occasion to remark, by thoughts, feelings, and emotions, of whose origin, vividness, and intensity, we are ignorant; and which, in consequence, are liable to be altered, in their nature, degree, and efficacy, without our being conscious, at the time, of the agent or agency. This is as true of the religious states or "frames" of the mind, as of those which exist in reference to any other subject. This, we say, is naturally and ordinarily the fact. And hence it follows, that if the operations of a Divine influence upon the mind be distinguishable, as such, from its ordinary movements as it is acted upon by the countless influences to which it is subjected, its well-known and established laws are invaded. It is properly and literally a miracle, just as much as if any of the well-known natural and ordinary laws of the material world were suspended, or altered, or broken. Now does anybody believe, that in all those cases, in which the Divine spirit operates upon the souls of men, a miracle is performed? And yet, obviously, this is asserted just as often as it is asserted that the operations of the Spirit upon the mind are to be distinguished, as Divine, from its ordinary modes of operation. Here, then, is one difficulty with which the system under remark is attended. It goes the full length of taking us out of the ordinary dispensation of Providence under which we live, and of

placing us under a miraculous one. "The agency of the Spirit in our souls," says Paley, \* "*distinctly perceived*, is properly a miracle. Now miracles are instruments in the hand of God, of signal and extraordinary effects, produced upon signal and extraordinary occasions. Neither internally, nor externally, do they form the ordinary course of his proceeding with his reasonable creatures." If, then, the accompanying of these Divine influences with a distinguishing mark of their heavenly origin, does in fact endow them with a supernatural character, it is plain that the doctrine in question is exposed to all those objections, which have already, at so much length, been urged against this hypothesis. And with this single remark we might dismiss it.

But the subject is very important, and it may be, therefore, proper to show, briefly, that most of the arguments which have been adduced against the miraculous manifestations of a Divine influence in the human mind, lie equally against those which are said to be in themselves distinguishable as divine.

Thus, it is obvious, that the same argument from experience may be urged, which we have already brought to bear upon the doctrine of an influence supernaturally imparted. Men, who give every Scriptural proof of being moved by the spirit of God in their lives, namely, "goodness, righteousness and truth," nevertheless declare that they are incapable of distinguishing the suggestions of the Spirit from the operations of their own minds. Instances of this kind have fallen under the observation of most persons of mature years. Even Edwards virtually confesses, or implies, that he was moved by the Spirit without at the time knowing it. After speaking of the first instance "of that sort of sweet inward delight in God and divine things that he had lived much in since," he says, "But it never came into my thought, that there was any thing spiritual, or of a saving nature, in this," though he evidently, afterwards, thought there was.

It is equally obvious, that persons not unfrequently declare that they can thus distinguish the movements of God's spirit within, whose lives are wholly wanting in this Scriptural evidence of the fact. Which, then, is to be believed? And, in addition to this, we often observe those who equally claim to be able thus to distinguish spiritual influences by a specific

---

\* See Sermon XXIX, where this argument is more fully elaborated.

mark, and *have equal claims to be believed*, arrive at entirely opposite and irreconcilable results respecting the most important doctrines of religion. Is then this divine and distinguishable light offered to lead men in different directions?

The supposition, further, that the effect of God's agency upon the human mind should be marked by an *express* token of His presence, is contrary to all the analogies of His natural and moral providence. In all other cases, we see the operations of a divine agency only in its results. We are happy to quote again a luminous statement of Paley. It is quite in point. "We distinguish not between the acts of God and the course of nature. It is so with his Spirit. When, therefore, we teach that good men may be led, or bad men converted, by the Spirit of God, and yet they themselves not distinguish His holy influence; we teach no more than what is conformable, as I think has been shown, to the frame of the human mind, or rather to our degree of acquaintance with that frame; and also analogous to the exercise of divine power in other things; and also necessary to be so; unless it should have pleased God to put us under a quite different dispensation, that is, under a dispensation of constant miracles. I do not apprehend that the doctrine of spiritual influence carries the agency of the Deity much farther than the doctrine of providence carries it; or, however, than the doctrine of prayer carries it. For all prayer supposes the Deity to be intimate with our minds." \*

We have said that the position now before us involves a miraculous agency. We now press this point one step further, and observe, that it implies the performance of a miracle without any adequate call or occasion for one. Provision is made, in that part of our mental constitution to which we have had frequent occasion to advert, by which new ideas may be suggested, clearer views of divine truth afforded, greater intensity imparted to our emotions and passions, without our being at the time conscious of the producing cause. And as we do not know what that cause or order is, in which ideas and emotions are communicated, so, it is plain, this cause or order may be altered, or departed from, broken in upon, and arranged to suit the purposes of Infinite Wisdom, without the separate knowledge or consciousness, on our part, of the heavenly interposition. Is it reasonable, then, to think that the miracles, implied in accom-

---

\* Sermon above quoted.



panying the influences of the Spirit of God upon the human mind by some distinguishing and palpable tokens of the fact, should thus be causelessly and gratuitously wrought?

Another objection to the doctrine, that the influences of the Spirit are distinguishable, is, that it is nowhere promised, nowhere asserted, in the Scriptures, that these influences should be thus distinguishable from the natural operations of the human mind. Now, if this doctrine were true, it is, beyond question, extremely important. It is fraught, moreover, with consequences, as we shall presently see, truly tremendous. And if it be thus true and thus important, is it conceivable, that it should not have been stated or referred to in the Scriptures? Yet it is not. The influence of the Spirit is promised. The means of bringing one's self within the sphere of its agency are pointed out. Its effects upon the character are described. But these writings do not contain any intimation that this influence, in times subsequent to the Apostolic age, should be in itself so characterized, so marked, so authenticated by a divine stamp, as to be distinguished from the other phenomena of the mind of man.

But this is the feeblest part of the objection to the doctrine before us, derived from Scripture. It is not only not stated that the influences of the Spirit are distinguishable, but, further, it is distinctly stated, and by our Lord himself, that they are *not* distinguishable. In his memorable conversation with Nicodemus, where divine influences are directly spoken of, he compares them to the viewless wind. "This," said he, "bloweth where it listeth; and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; so is every man that is born of the Spirit." That is, in effect, a great and essential change is produced. It is the work of the Spirit of God upon the mind. But how, or in what particular manner it is wrought, we know no more than the rules which govern the changes of the atmosphere. The effect we know. The manner of its production, and the mode of its operation, we know not. The doctrine before us, then, is not only without support in the Scriptures, but it stands directly opposed to the express language of Jesus Christ himself.

We have one more objection to the hypothesis that the influence of the Holy Spirit is distinguishable, which, taken in connexion with what has already been offered, seems to us to put the question at rest. We refer to the natural and necessary

effects of the doctrine. These when carried out into their legitimate consequences, are appalling. He who believes that he is under the especial influences of the Spirit of God, and that he can distinguish these from the ordinary operations of his own mind, will, of necessity, feel bound to obey this superior guidance at all hazards. He is thus, in his own belief, taken out of the moral dispensation under which common mortals live, and placed under a miraculous, or, at any rate, an extraordinary and peculiar one. The restraints of law, social order, and common sense; the rules of fitness, prudence, and propriety; the natural obligations of rectitude; and the inborn suggestions of the human heart, — what are all these to him? They are little or nothing worth. He believes himself to be guided by a better light and a stronger law, even a light and law which have emanated directly from God himself, and which bear His express signature and sanction. And what is this but the grossest fanaticism? What is it but a religious phrensy? What is fanaticism, and what is phrensy, but the disavowal of our rational faculties, and the surrendry of ourselves to any internal suggestions and impulses which are believed to be of a higher authority than they? True, these errors do not always run into those shocking extremes which we sometimes witness, and which are multiplied around us in periods of high religious excitement. But the reason is, they are modified and controlled by external restraints, and by that partial influence which the rational powers are, even then, permitted to exert. But their tendency is ever to excess; and the system, fairly carried out, naturally results in excess. And, admitting the soundness of the principle which is avowedly acted upon, those persons act most consistently and consequentially, who most thoroughly and decidedly put all the restraints of reason and common sense at defiance, when these interfere with the divinely marked light from heaven. That these results do often follow from the practical admission of the principle we oppose, is a matter of fact; plain, palpable, every-day, downright fact. It has been, and is, one great source of those lamentable excesses which are perpetrated under the name of “revivals of religion”; and which good men, even of that class of Christians who favor them, are, at length, with late, but most praiseworthy wisdom, uniting to discountenance. And can it be believed that a doctrine, which naturally leads to such results as these, is a doctrine of the Scriptures? Are its results identical with those which

are therein said to be the fruits of the true Spirit of God, namely, "love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance"?

And now what is there to be opposed to this mass of objections thus derived from reason, experience, and Scripture? They plainly throw the burden of proof upon the advocates of this doctrine. And when we ask for this proof, we find that, as in the former case, it amounts to nothing more than the simple persuasion of the individual, that he is the subject of influences which are thus distinguishable from the ordinary operations of his own mind, that is, as we have shown, of supernatural influences? But can he himself be assured, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he is not, in this strong persuasion of his, laboring under a strong delusion? We think not. He will not pretend to essay the proof which the Saviour and his Apostles gave, and which alone is decisive of the presence of supernatural *power*, namely, supernatural *works*. What assurance can he have of the fact, which ought to satisfy a reasonable mind, when all his reasoning powers are confessedly suspended, and made to lie in abeyance, by that very persuasion, whose truth and reality are the precise subjects in question? What criterion has he, —and this is the great point, — what criterion has he, by which he can thus distinguish the influences of the spirit of God, from the movements of his mind as it is wrought upon, excited, disturbed, and put off its balance, by nervous excitement, by sickness, by despondency, by an irresistible machinery of external means, or by those unknown causes which are continually altering its temper and tone? He has certainly no satisfactory criterion, which he can make known to other minds; and he has none, as we believe, which ought to satisfy himself. He has nothing but a strong, and, we are willing to admit, a sincere belief, as has been already stated, on which to rely. And this, as we trust we have shown in regard to an avowed supernatural influence, is at war with established principles of the human intellect; is opposed to experience; is irreconcilable with the known laws of God's moral government; is not promised in the Scriptures; is irreconcilable with the plain declarations by our Saviour himself; leads to the excesses of fanaticism; and is one which may be easily accounted for on natural principles, without supposing any interposition of the spirit at all? And is a mere bald persuasion like this, to be regarded or relied



upon? Is it one, to which a man in the possession of his right reason, ought to pay the least respect?

It has, in truth, been long since repudiated by the better class of thinkers of many different sects of Christians; by Locke, Fenelon,\* Paley, Priestley; and, in more modern times, by the author of the "Natural History of Enthusiasm," by Archbishop Whately, by the more intelligent Calvinistic writers, and by all those who believe in the strict unity of God; and it only remains that it should be rooted out of the minds of enthusiasts and fanatics of all sects.

IV. Our next general remark has reference to another widespread and very generally adopted mistake concerning the manner in which the Influence of the Spirit is imparted. It is, that this aid is not *arbitrarily* given to a few individuals. We have already adverted to a kindred doctrine, namely, that this influence is "specially" vouchsafed to certain communities, at certain times and places, without any known or assignable cause of preference. But what we now assert is, that it is not given to a few individuals, by an act of divine sovereignty,

---

\* The authority of Fenelon will, in an especial manner, be deemed important by those who may differ from us on this point, since his views of the "interior life" have exposed him to the charge of mysticism. His language, particularly in his "Lettres Spirituelles," is very explicit and decisive on the subject before us, and fully sustains the reasoning in the text. The Letter, for example, to the Duke de Chevreuse is devoted entirely to the impossibility of distinguishing the operations of God, in themselves considered, on the human soul, from its natural movements. And he not only asserts the fact, but proceeds to show the final causes of this arrangement in that moral providence under which we are placed. We take leave to quote a single passage in illustration of this:

"Nous ne saurions avoir de règle précise et certaine là-dessus au-dedans de nous-mêmes. Nous avons seulement la règle extérieure de nos actions, qui est la conformité aux préceptes, aux conseils, aux bienséances chrétiennes. Si nous avions de plus au-dedans une règle pour discerner avec certitude le principe surnaturel d'avec celui de la nature, nous aurions une certitude de notre sainteté et une infailibilité pour nous conduire nous-mêmes par inspiration. C'est ce qui est précisément contraire à l'obscurité de la vie de foi, à l'incertitude du pèlerinage, et à la dépendance où nous devons être ici à l'égard de nos supérieurs. Nous ne devons donc point chercher ce que l'état présent ne nous permet pas de trouver; je veux dire cette règle certaine pour discerner les mouvemens de la grâce d'avec ceux de la nature, qui peuvent imiter la grâce même." — *Œuvres*, Tome 5e. Lettre V. 8vo. Paris. 1826. See also Lettre CXIII. in the same volume.

who are predestinated unto everlasting life, and this, too, in a perfectly arbitrary manner, and not on account of any thing foreseen in them, and still less on account of any thing they have, or are, or can do, without it; but while they are, by the system, of which this doctrine is a component and necessary part, naturally and necessarily in a state of irremediable sinfulness and spiritual death. We must make a brief and rapid allusion to this doctrine, since it still holds its place in those Creeds and Confessions of Faith, which profess to be Calvinistic; and even in those of Theological Institutions, some of whose Professors place themselves in the very unenviable predicament of solemnly affirming, either at their entrance on office, or at regular periods afterwards, their belief in the doctrine, either "for substance," or with some other mental reservation, but are occasionally found employed in the intervals, as if conscience-stricken for the sin, in neutralizing or in explaining away the obvious meaning of what they thus solemnly affirm in words. We reject it then totally, and in all its separate parts. We believe it to be unsound at its very core, and fatally diseased in all its ramifications. It takes its origin in error, and runs into the most palpable and shocking absurdities. It presents a view of God, of His government, of the condition and prospects of man, which is utterly irreconcilable with all that He has taught us of Himself, as the common Father and Friend of His creatures; irreconcilable with the whole idea of this present life being a state of probation; irreconcilable with all the injunctions of the Gospel to repent and reform, since, by the very statement of the doctrine, it is put out of our power to do so; and it is irreconcilable with the sincerity of all the exhortations, promises, and motives, which are held forth in the Scriptures as inducements to a holy life, because none but a few favorites of the Deity, chosen no one knows how or why, can receive that Divine Influence, which will enable them to comply with these exhortations, to listen to these promises, and to yield to these motives. It seems to us, moreover, that the express language of the Saviour stands in direct opposition to this view of the Divine Influence; and that if he enforces any thing in respect to it with peculiar emphasis, it is, that the spirit of God is promised to all sincere and earnest efforts of all men, everywhere, in all times, under the dispensation of the Gospel. "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, much more shall your

heavenly Father give the holy spirit to them that ask him." This, if it stood alone, would be decisive of the question before us; but it is, in substance, repeated and recognised throughout the New Testament; and nothing is clearer to our minds, than that the aids of the spirit are not arbitrarily given to a few, and irrespectively of their character and claims, and confined to them; but freely offered to all, who will seek them in the way of God's appointment. His impartiality and equal goodness are made known, not in giving equal degrees of his Spiritual aid to all, or special degrees of it to any, without reference to their moral desert; but by granting it to all, in exact proportion to the use they make of what has been already vouchsafed. In fine, we dismiss the doctrine by observing, that it is one which is dishonorable to the character of God; at war with the whole tenor of the Scriptures, considered as a rule of life; absurd in itself; injurious in its effects upon man; and one, which, having had its origin in a dark age, it is now quite time the world had passed by, and left among forgotten things.

V. We congratulate our readers and ourselves in having gotten almost through the examination of those mistakes in respect to the manifestations of the Spirit, in which the doctrine has been involved. There is one remaining, which we deem of sufficient consequence to notice. It is that this divine aid, in its effects upon the sinner's soul, is *irresistible*; that it performs an unaided work, which we can neither forward nor retard, help nor oppose; that it is effectual with those to whom it is afforded, and renders their safety certain, while, to those who receive it not, salvation is for ever denied. We shall enter into no detailed examination of this doctrine. It is too naked and obvious an error to detain us long. It is plain, if this influence of the spirit be irresistible in its effects, that man is no longer free to choose; and if he be not free to choose, he is not a free agent; and if he be not a free agent, he is not accountable for his conduct; and if he be not accountable for his conduct, it is a mockery to speak of this life as a state of trial; and what more triumphant plea can the sinner want than this? If, again, man is entirely passive in the reception of this divine aid, which is likewise said to be essential to his salvation, what a mockery also are all the precepts, the exhortations, of the Gospel; and all the motives and means of



moral and religious improvement which it suggests. And again, what mean such texts as this, "Grieve not the spirit of God," if the spirit of God be irresistible in its efficacy, and cannot, in consequence, be grieved? What does St. Paul mean, when he speaks of those who have "done despite unto the spirit of grace"; if this grace be irresistible, and can have, in consequence, no despite done unto it? And how could the same Apostle speak of the grace of God not being, in his case, in vain, unless it could have been in vain? And, to quote no further on this point, is it not implied throughout the whole Scriptures, that in whatsoever way the spirit of God operates, whether by suggestion of truths and motives, or in any other manner, its operations, in all cases, may be disregarded and rendered of no effect by the perverseness of sinful men. And if so, how can we listen, for a moment, to the assertion that the movements of the spirit are irresistible?

If then the influence of the holy spirit be not *supernaturally* manifested; if it be not *specially* communicated at certain times and places, in the sense intended by them who favor those excitements called "revivals"; if it be not *distinguishable* in its operations from the ordinary movements of the human mind; if it be not *arbitrarily* imparted to some individuals, and withholden from others; and if, when imparted, it be not *irresistible* in its effects; — the question still recurs, what is the manner, in which it is communicated to the mind of man?

What we deem to be the proper answer to this inquiry has been continually implied in the whole train of our remarks. It requires, however, to be distinctly stated, since we would avoid the not uncommon error of admitting a doctrine in general terms, and then explaining it away in all its details and particular applications.

We believe that the influence of God, designated in the Scriptures by the terms "spirit" and "holy spirit," *coöperates* with the natural powers of man in the improvement of his religious nature; — that no new principle, power, or capacity is thereby added to the human soul, but that it is manifested in developing, strengthening, maturing, and perfecting those which naturally belong to it; that it does not operate necessarily or ordinarily by a sudden, violent, or marvellous change, but gradually and silently, by suggesting truth, by supplying

motives, by enlightening the understanding, and by influencing the will; that all this is effected in perfect congruity and entire consonance with the constitution of our moral and intellectual natures, and is made effectual, and can alone be made effectual, through the voluntary efforts of man. We believe that this presence of the spirit of God to the soul, is *not confined* to a few favored spots, and vouchsafed at particular seasons, to the exclusion of all others, but is *equally offered* to all persons in all places and in all times. We believe that it is *not distinguishable*, in itself, as a separate and extraordinary influence, but, like the principle of animal life, *is known by its effects*, diffusing warmth, sensibility, and power through our moral natures. We believe that it is not *arbitrarily* imparted, that is, without reference to human desert, either in respect to those who are the subjects of it, or the degree in which it is given; but that the rule given by our Saviour in regard to all other good endeavours holds here, namely, "that to him who hath," that is, well uses what he hath, "more shall be given, and he shall have abundantly." We believe that it acts with *no uncontrollable* power, but, like all the other benignant offers of God, it may be accepted or spurned, used or abused; and that, in the reception or rejection of it, there is no infringement of any kind, or in any degree, of man's power freely to choose and act. In a word, it comes to the human soul like the genial influence of the material sun to the embryo plant, creating nothing there, adding nothing to its inherent properties, but warming, quickening, unfolding, calling into new life, maturing, and leading on to its appropriate and wonderful consummation, what was before concealed, dormant, or dead. And, if we may pursue the parallel a little further, we would say, that, like this influence of the material sun, the spiritual light and heat beam on all alike; that, like it too, it performs its gracious work, ordinarily, without violence, noiselessly, imperceptibly, and in perfect accordance with those laws which were, at first, impressed upon the human mind; and that, in fine, as without this influence of the material sun the plant remains inert and undistinguishable in the common earth, so the soul, unquickened by the spiritual agency of the "Sun of Righteousness," is of the earth earthy, and under this heavy load of its earthliness, must lie hopelessly buried.

In regard to the precise mode in which the Divine Influence, or, to use here the simpler terms, God himself, acts upon the

minds of His rational offspring, it is obviously a subject beyond the reach of our present faculties. It is one, moreover, concerning which, it is very important that we should take counsel of our ignorance, and, to this end, that we should learn to understand how ignorant we are. We know that God is intimately and essentially and constantly present to every part of His creation, since, without this presence, it could not continue to exist for a single instant; and we know, further, that he operates on every part of His creation by means of general laws, for this is matter of constant observation, and without them, the business of life could not be carried on. "I believe," says Lord Bacon, "that, notwithstanding God hath rested and ceased from creating since the first Sabbath, yet, nevertheless, he doth accomplish and fulfil his divine will in all things, great and small, singular and general, as fully and exactly by providence, as he could by miracle and new creation, though his working be not immediate and direct, but by compass; not violating nature, which is his own law upon the creature."\* And, further, as in respect to the inanimate world His providential care is directed by general laws, yet in a manner to be made capable of producing particular results; so in reference to the spiritual world, while He in like manner operates upon the mind by general laws, they are so ordered as to produce any particular results which the Divine Mind may direct. But *how* God is thus present to His creation, and *how* facts or events are thus connected together according to general laws, we are, and with our present faculties must remain, in profound ignorance. He has thus said to the human intellect, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." And he who is duly aware of the limits which God has thus placed to the human faculties, and of the small achievements of these faculties in human knowledge, will not deem it strange that we remain unacquainted with the precise mode in which this divine influence is brought into contact with the human mind. Of *efficient* causes, even in the world of matter, that is, of any *necessary* connexion between any two consecutive events, we know nothing. Laying out of the question those relations among abstract truths, the knowledge of which is emphatically called science, and which has obviously no connexion with the subject before us; all our philosophy, and all our knowledge of nature, is limited to what

---

\* Catechism of Faith.



are sometimes called, by way of distinction, *physical* causes, that is, to the ascertaining of certain conjunctions or successions of events; and these facts or circumstances, more or less general, comprehending more or fewer particulars, we call *laws* of nature. And even of these laws, or generalized facts, we know but very little compared with what remains to be known. We travel over the earth's surface, and dig through its outer shell, and give as intelligible a description as we can of what we have seen; we arrange together those of its productions which seem to us to have some common resemblance or some common relationship; we analyze things compounded into simpler elements; we resolve particular appearances into appearances more common; we refer strange phenomena to phenomena better known; and, noting the succession of certain effects or results, we connect them together with a theory, sometimes true and sometimes false, — and this we dignify with the name of Science and Philosophy. Meantime, as we have said, we know nothing of the efficient causes of any thing. We know nothing of that internal economy on which the appearances which we observe around us depend. Take the commonest thing that meets your observation, a breath of air, a pencil of light, a ray of heat, a drop of water, or the minutest particle of the common earth, and endeavour to ascertain its essential nature and relations, and you will find it contains that in it, which all the combined science of all time cannot explain, or even refer to the operation of any of those general laws, which are the only legitimate objects of a sound philosophy.\*

And if this be true of the world around us, it is still more strikingly so, of that physical, moral, intellectual being, which each man calls himself. Our knowledge indeed of the wonderful machinery of these frames of ours is said to be tolerably complete; but still they contain parts, of the design of which, all the accumulated talent and labor of a distinct class of men, devoted to the subject, during many centuries, is yet obliged to confess its ignorance. It is not even pretended that we can know any thing of the nature of the mysterious principle of *life*, which makes our bodies to differ from the common mass

---

\* "He who shall discover the true general law of the forces by which elements form compounds, will probably advance as far beyond the discoveries of Newton, as Newton went beyond Aristotle. But who shall say in what direction this new flight shall be, and what new views it shall open to us of the *manner* in which matter obeys the laws of the Creator." — WHEWELL. *Bridgewater Treatise*.

of the earth and elements ; or of that law or mode of operation, by which, through its instrumentality, our various organs are enabled to secrete and appropriate nourishment, and develope and beautify the human frame ; or why it falters in its operations, or why it stops. We are equally ignorant of the principle of *sensation*, or *nervous sensibility*, which seems to be super-added to that of life. We are quite as ignorant, again, of the constitution of our minds ; how they are connected with the frail tenement they inhabit ; how they receive impressions, through the medium of our senses, from the world without, and how, in turn, they operate upon material organs ; how they think, feel, imagine, will, devise means to secure ends, "look before and after," are pervaded by moral sentiments and by a conviction of religious responsibility. The most we can know of all this, is, some few laws according to which these operations are carried on. In fine, it must be confessed, that we know very little of ourselves, so that with great truth it has been said, "One of the greatest mysteries to man is man." And all mature thinkers on this subject will, we suppose, accede to the conclusion of Locke, that "it will be idle for us, who know not how our own spirits move and act us, to ask in what manner the Spirit of God shall work upon us." \*

And, further, if, in connexion with this train of thought, we recollect the exceeding imperfection of our knowledge of the Infinite God, we shall not be prepared to inquire very curiously into that precise mode by which He holds intercourse with the minds of men. If we cannot comprehend the nature of the humblest material thing, and know nothing of the efficient cause of its phenomena, or of the precise agency through which it operates upon our minds, or our minds, in their reciprocal operation, upon that ; what can we hope to understand of the nature and mode of acting of the great Author of all. He is obviously and necessarily wholly incomprehensible to our minds, both in the degree of His perfections, and in the manner of His agency. We can have some idea of the *nature* of His perfections from similar qualities of our own souls ; we know, too, by an infallible course of reasoning, or rather by an intuitive act of the mind, that they must be infinite in degree. But when we attempt to gain an accurate idea of them, our minds sink away from the effort in amazement and utter helpless-

---

\* Reasonableness of Christianity.

ness, and, in the language of the Patriarch, we are ready to exclaim :—“Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven; what canst thou do?—deeper than hell, what canst thou know?” Will any, then, with these thoughts before them, insist upon ascertaining the precise method in which God communicates his Divine Influence to the human soul? Is it not, plainly, a subject that lies beyond the reach of our present faculties? \*

But still, in this, as in respect to all the other agencies of God in this lower world, there are some second, physical, or proximate causes, or, to speak more accurately, some general modes or laws of divine operation, which do lie within the cognizance of our minds, and which it is allowable and proper to ascertain.

Thus we know, negatively, and it is a very important fact to know, that, first, whatever these modes of operation are, they are vastly more extensive and varied than those in which men operate upon dead matter, and may be, and probably are, entirely different from them. In this, they can only employ the principles which already exist in the material universe. They can only use what before was. They can only combine what was prepared to their hands. But *He who made nature*, can impart to it any new principles which He deems proper to effect His purposes. In all our reasonings on this subject, therefore, we should be guarded from confining the Divine operations, in the modes of their manifestation, to those narrow limits which restrict our own.

We know, yet further, that while He does thus exercise an influence upon human minds, it must be in a manner totally different from that by which He directs and governs mere material things. This is obvious; since, in whatever way our minds

---

\* “It is reasonable to suppose that the actings of spirit on spirit will be incomparably more refined, more exquisitely untraceable, than those which take place on corporeal substances; and yet how incomprehensibly minute and refined are the vital functions and changes in the smallest visible creatures. He who can maintain and renew all the complexities of the vital system, and the system of instincts, in successive generations of animalcules, can surely bring into the mind a thought seemingly inconsiderable in itself, which yet may be the sole original instrument of the temporal destinies of a kingdom, or the everlasting destinies of a soul.” — JOHN SHEPPARD, *Thoughts*, &c.



are thus illumined and guided by the Divine Mind, it must be in some manner that does not interfere with their free agency. We shall in vain seek, in the properties of material affinity, attraction, and assimilation, an efficacy which will suggest motives, guide the will, and excite the aspirations of the immortal soul. It is hardly possible to conceive of a wider difference than must, of necessity, exist between those laws that govern the actions of voluntary agents, and the laws of mechanical force by which the trains of material phenomena are regulated.

And, once more, we know, as a general law that governs the intercourse between the Divine and the human mind, that this Divine Influence, in the natural order of things, is not immediately and directly imparted, but through the *instrumentality of means and second causes*. In this respect we conceive the dispensations of our religion, as has been before intimated, are in perfect analogy with the dispensations of providence. God's hand is to be recognised as, the operating cause in all the events which take place around us; but He effects nothing, as we have already had occasion to say, but by the intervention of subsidiary means. All events are connected in one grand series, or succession of results, which, according to their connexion with each other, we call effects and causes; and all coöperate together in producing the designs of the great First Cause. But there is no palpable manifestation of this cause. The work is done; the hand is unseen. God's spirit pervades creation, but it operates by no direct and palpable manifestation of itself. He maintains in being all that lives, not by an immediate ministration of His care, but by giving them organs, desires, wants, appropriate objects, and the means, appliances, and opportunities of using them. He provides us food, not immediately, but by that labor which renders the earth productive, by kindly attempering all the elements, and by all the gracious influences of the heavens. All the laws of the material universe are expressions of thought in the divine mind, but they are uttered in no audible language. God manifests himself in all the aspects of nature, not by any express symbol, any palpable display of His glorious self, but by stamping beauty and grandeur on the whole, and by giving us eyes to see, and hearts to feel, and spirits to adore. In a similar manner, we apprehend, that is, by the intervention of second causes, He holds intercourse with, and pervades, the spirits

of men. He offers to our minds the great truths and sanctions of religion, and disposes us, by an influence which seems to be a self-emanation, to receive them. And this is effected by an indefinite variety of means. He is continually appealing to the religious principles and capacities of our natures, in the wonders of the external world ; in the common course of providence ; in prosperity and in adversity ; in success and in disappointment ; in health and in sickness ; in giving us objects of love, and in "changing their countenances and sending them away" ; in opening new sources of feeling in the heart, and in draining dry and sealing up the currents of affection : in a word, He is perfecting His will in us, by all the events and circumstances of nature, of His general providence, and of our particular lot and condition in life. His spirit is pleading with us, too, in all the consequences of our actions as moral agents ; in the approval of conscience which follows good aims and good endeavours ; and still more emphatically in that sense of degradation and guilt which follows every act of sin. This same spirit is addressing us in an especial manner throughout the sacred volume of His word, in the history of the Jewish dispensation ; in every recorded example of piety ; in every encouragement to holiness ; in every denunciation against iniquity ; in every counsel of wisdom ; in every rule of duty ; in every prophecy ; in every prayer ; and particularly and eminently in the teaching, example, death, and resurrection of that blessed Saviour, to whom the Spirit of God was given without measure ; and in all the precepts, sanctions, institutions, and peculiar influences of his religion. It is thus, as we apprehend, that all the promises of the Scriptures, in regard to this subject, are continually fulfilled from age to age. Thus it is, that "God worketh in men to will and to do ; creating in them a new heart and a new spirit ; opening their eyes, drawing, turning, renewing, strengthening them, helping their infirmities."

"So manifold and various are the ways  
Of restoration, fashioned to the steps  
Of all infirmity, and tending all  
To the same point, — attainable by all ;  
Peace in ourselves, and union with our God." \*

These views, as those who are conversant with the subject

---

\* Excursion. Book iv.

are aware, are stigmatized as narrow and low ; as belittling the efficacy of the holy spirit in awakening, renovating, and sanctifying the sinner ; as explaining away and rendering nugatory the doctrine. But do not the same objections lie with equal force against the whole providence of God ? Is it more worthy of Him to work by means than without ? How unworthy then are all the ordinary dispensations of His love to His creatures ! Is it more honorable to Him to operate by a direct impulse upon the souls of men, than to render the whole universe instinct with His informing, guiding, sanctifying spirit ? Which is the low and narrow doctrine, — that which teaches us to recognise God's holy spirit in all things ; or that which confines it, so far as man's religious advancement is concerned, to certain limited and specific, even though they be express and palpable, impulses ? And as to belittling His agency, which does this the more, — a doctrine which restricts this agency to some seemingly capricious and convulsive, even though they be obvious, manifestations of it, and those too which interfere with, and break in upon, the established course of His natural and moral providence, — or one which leads us to perceive His spirit operating in all that exists, in every occurrence, in all beings, in all places,

“Path, motive, guide, original, and end,”

hallowing all by its presence, conferring upon all a diviner meaning, and thus consecrating all to that great purpose which pervades the whole creation, providence, and revealed will of God, — the developement of the whole nature of man, his recovery and renovation from sin, and his sanctification to everlasting life ?

There remains but one more important inquiry in regard to this subject. It is, what are the authentic *evidences* of the presence and operation of Divine Influence on the soul. With what proof ought we to be satisfied that God is, in reality, “working within us to will and to do of his good pleasure ?” In regard to this, there is, happily, little difference of opinion among judicious inquirers. It in the first place is a *holy life*. The language of President Edwards is very full and decisive on this point, and in this he is followed by all the more learned and sensible divines in modern times, who consider themselves as belonging to the same common denomination of Christians. To enforce this truth is the object of all the con-



cluding part of his "Treatise on the Religious Affections," and it is by far the most able and useful part of the work. We shall quote a few passages as specimens of the whole train of remark.

After adverting at great length, and with much acuteness and discrimination, to twelve distinct circumstances or phenomena in a religious experience, which are "no signs that affections are gracious," that is, are occasioned by the "saving" operations of the Spirit; and, in like manner, to twelve more, by which "those affections that are spiritual and gracious, do differ from those that are not so," he thus speaks of the last.

"But I am come now to the last distinguishing mark of holy affections" (that is, those caused by the "saving" operations of the spirit) "that I shall mention. Gracious and holy affections have their exercise and fruit in Christian practice. . . . . I mean, that they have that influence and power upon him who is the subject of them, that they cause that a practice, which is universally conformed to and directed by Christian rules, should be the practice and business of his life." — p. 332.

"Holy practice is as much the end of all that God does about his saints, as fruit is of all the husbandman does about his vineyard." — p. 347.

"Christ nowhere says, Ye shall know the tree by its leaves or flowers, or ye shall know men by their talk, or ye shall know them by the good story they tell of their experiences, or ye shall know them by the manner and air of their speaking, and emphasis and pathos of expression, or by speaking feelingly, or by making a very great show by abundance of talk, or by many tears and affectionate expressions, or by the affections ye feel in your hearts towards them; but by their fruits shall ye know them." — p. 354.

"This (holy practice) is ten times more insisted on as a note of true piety, throughout the Scripture, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelations, than any thing else. . . . . But I can find no place, where either Christ or his Apostles do, in this manner, give signs of godliness (though the places are many), but where Christian practice is almost the only thing insisted on." — pp. 386, 387.

"Now from all that has been said, I think it to be abundantly manifest, that Christian practice is the most proper

evidence of the gracious sincerity of professors, to themselves and others ; and the chief of all the marks of grace, the sign of signs, and evidence of evidences, that which seals and crowns all other signs." — p. 394.

"There may be several good evidences that a tree is a fig-tree ; but the highest and most proper evidence of it is, that it actually bears figs." — p. 395.

"Christian practice is the sign of signs, in this sense, that it is the great evidence, which confirms and crowns all other signs." — p. 395.

We add a short quotation from a sermon of Paley\* to the same effect, and particularly on account of its practical character.

"The efficacy of the spirit is to be judged of by its fruits. Its immediate effects are upon the disposition. . . . . Whenever, therefore, we find religious carelessness succeeded within us by religious seriousness ; conscience, which was silent or unheard, now powerfully speaking and obeyed ; . . . . . when we find the thoughts of the mind drawing or drawn more and more towards heavenly things ; the value and interest of these expectations plainer to our view, a great deal more frequent than heretofore in our meditations, and more fully discerned ; the care and safety of our souls rising gradually above concerns and anxieties about wordly affairs ; when we find the force of temptation and of evil propensities, not extinct, but retreating before a sense of duty ; self-government maintained ; the interruptions of it immediately perceived, bitterly deplored, and soon recovered ; sin rejected and repelled ; . . . . . when we feel these things, then may we, without either enthusiasm or superstition, humbly believe that the spirit of God hath been at work in us."

In this result, as we have already observed, the most judicious writers of the present day concur. But our appeal lies to a more decisive authority than all these, even to the Lord Jesus and his Apostles, and nothing can be more explicit than their language on this point. Thus, "He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." And certainly it is to the friends of Jesus, if to any, that the holy spirit is given. "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit

---

\* Sermon "On the Influence of the Spirit." Part III.

sin." "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." "For the fruit of the spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth."

These, then, are the authentic evidences that we are moved by the spirit of God. They are not strange, sudden, unaccountable, or miraculous. They do not require the sacrifice of our rational powers. They do not depend upon the fluctuation of the feelings, upon sympathy, heated appeals to the passions, or upon the excitements of crowds. They are seen in practice, quietly but effectually influencing the life, producing repentance, reformation, a growing conformity to God's will, a continually increasing purity, piety, and heavenly-mindedness. They are solid. They are durable. They have "the promise of the life that now is," and can alone prepare us for fuller manifestations of divine favor in the eternal world.

And, as another proof of the reality of God's presence to the human soul, we add, in conclusion, that of Experience. We speak here of no mystical influence, but of one which is clear, distinct, rational, and matter of habitual consciousness with the truly pious spirit. It is a religious peace; a holy joy in God, in his Son, and in the revelations of His will, that no words can adequately express. The soul thus visited from on high will perceive, that Christian truth is to all its capacities like light to the eye, each being made for the other; that the revelation of the Gospel is but the enlargement and confirmation of all other truth; that it interprets all the secrets of our mysterious nature; meets all its inner wants; answers to all its higher aspirations; solves all the dark problems of providence; presents a noble aim to life; gives an all-concerning significance to human conduct; relieves the mind from the anguish of uncertainty respecting the future, from the distress of conflicting passions, from the solicitations of bad desire, from the opposition between duty and feeling, from the stings of remorse, and all the sad requitals of an outraged and hostile conscience. The spirit, thus touched of God, experiences what is emphatically called in the Scriptures a "joy in believing." It opens, continually, to new displays of His exhaustless love; perceives more and more of His stupendous plan of grace in the salvation of man; attains a blessed consciousness of thinking worthily and acting well; and gains more and more of that temper of our Divine Master, which elevates, tranquillizes,



amends, and hallows the life. In every dark hour, its language will be, as it has been, "O what a power there is in the Infinite Mind of Deity, to communicate itself to the soul that looks singly to Him for comfort and support! The greater the exigence, the more perfect the adaptation; the more troubled the sea is around us, the more we feel the security and firmness of our hold upon the Rock of Ages!" In a word, the spirit, thus guided from above, will experience, more and more, that the Saviour's parting promise of "peace" to his immediate disciples is not confined to them, but is fulfilled to his faithful followers now; that it is, indeed, "*his* peace"; that it is given, in very truth, "not as the world giveth"; that it adds to every token of Divine Beneficence some relishes of heavenly blessedness; makes the whole creation one august temple for praise; renders life one continued offering of love and homage; and clothes every event, even while it is "seen and temporal," with the sublimer wisdom of "things unseen and eternal."

We here take leave of this long protracted discussion. Why, are any ready to ask, has it been so long and earnestly pursued? Our answer has already virtually been given in the introduction to this Essay. It is because every thing relating to the Influence of God upon the human soul is of ineffable importance;—because what we deem the truth in respect to it, is the most cheering, sustaining, animating of all truths;—because, moreover, it is a subject that is peculiarly liable to misapprehension, perversion, and abuse;—and, because, in point of fact, it has been, and is, as we conceive, lamentably and shockingly mistaken, perverted, and abused. Therefore it is, that we have labored to give a Scriptural and rational account of it; to assert and prove the doctrine as, we believe, our Lord and his disciples taught it; and, at the same time, to deny all license to dark bigotry, to wild enthusiasm, and to fanatical excess. We have hoped to do something, by which the sincere and earnest inquirer might be guided to true and useful results; to relieve the doctrine from errors and overstatements which have prevented its reception with some enlightened minds;—something to make the great truth felt as well as admitted, experienced as well as acknowledged, that God is near to the human soul as nothing else is near, and near with an all-controlling, all-penetrating, all-subduing power.

**ART. VI.**—*Lives of Sacred Poets: containing a Biographical and Critical View of English Sacred Poetry during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First.* By ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge.

To the lovers of whatever is old, because it is old, and to the lovers of what is good, because it is good, whether old or not, this volume will be a source of great pleasure. It has been published with the above title, "under the direction of the Committee of general literature and education, appointed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge" in England. The first series only has reached this country.

The object of the work, as the author states in his preface, is not to furnish a history of English Sacred Poetry; "a rapid view of some of its principal cultivators, in addition to the more extended memoirs, was all that could be offered. This object appeared likely to be attained by the interspersions of occasional biographical and critical sketches, together with specimens."

The present volume commences with an introduction, in which are given brief notices of several poets who employed their genius upon sacred subjects previous to the seventeenth century. "It should never be forgotten," says our author, "in speaking of Chaucer, that he was among the first to resort to that precious fountain which his contemporary Wickliffe had opened, and that he drank of the 'water springing up to everlasting life.'"

From the death of Chaucer to the reign of Henry VIII. a blank ensues in English literature. The Reformation which began under Henry, while it gave a vast impulse to the human mind in every department of thought, most especially affected the species of literature we are considering. The book of books was then unsealed; and we at the present day, when Bibles are in every house, can hardly conceive with what eager eyes its pages were pored over, and with what panting hearts its truths and promises were meditated. The stream, that had been for ages dammed up, was set free. The imagination, that had been priest-bound, leaped for joy to find itself at liberty to "wander through eternity," and form a paradise for itself, without consulting the formulas of the Church. Then Poetry, that had left the earth a prey to ignorance, superstition, and tyranny, descended again from the

heaven to which she had flown, and resumed her sway over the hearts of men. The imaginations and affections, that had been shut out by spiritual despotism from the garden of religion, and had been driven to the haunts of vulgarity and earth-born vice, returned to drink at the holy wells that had so long been closed; the faith of the Christian and the aspirations of genius, which had been most unnaturally dissevered, were again united; the devotion of the worshipper and the enthusiasm of the bard flowed once more in the same channel; poet and prophet became one; the first fruits of genius were laid upon the altar; and God was honored, as he should ever be, in the gifts he had bestowed.

And it might with reason have been expected, that the Scriptures, upon being opened to the public eye, should awaken and bring to life whatever of poetry lay concealed in the community. They are not only depositories of truths valuable to every individual, because connected intimately with every individual's present and future welfare, but they abound in brilliant pictures for the imagination; their solid and substantial contents are inlaid with the diamond ornaments of Eastern poetry, which throw a splendid lustre over their pages, making them as delectable to the taste, as they are invigorating to the moral and spiritual nature of man. It is true, the first attempts at sacred verse in England were rude, of which the version of the Psalms in Edward the Sixth's time, by Sternhold and Hopkins, is an example. But a new era was about to commence. The sky of English literature was red with the rising glory of Spenser, and his *Faery Queen* walked forth with blended majesty and sweetness to captivate all hearts. The poet designed in this work, it seems, "to represent all the moral virtues, assigning to every virtue a knight, to be the patron and defender of the same; in whose actions, the feats of arms and chivalry, the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector, are to be expressed; and the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same, are to be beaten down and overcome."

Among the poets noticed by Mr. Willmott in his Introduction is Robert Southwell. He belonged to the society of Jesuits, and in 1592 was imprisoned on a charge of sedition. After an imprisonment of three years, he was condemned, and executed at Tyburn. We copy the following verses from his lines "Upon the Picture of Death."



"The gown which I do use to wear,  
 The knife wherewith I cut my meat,  
 And eke that old and ancient chair  
 Which is my only usual seat :  
 All these do tell me I must die,  
 And yet my life amend not I.

"My ancestors are turned to clay,  
 And many of my mates are gone ;  
 My youngers daily drop away,  
 And can I think to 'scape alone ?  
 No, no, I know that I must die,  
 And yet my life amend not I."

Francis Davison is another of the early poets noticed by our author. He was the son of Mr. Davison, Secretary to Elizabeth. The genius with which he was gifted, formed a beautiful compensation for the reverses of fortune that visited him. Like David, whom he copied, his harp was his companion in the wilderness of his sorrows, and it seems to have been ever vocal with the sweet strains of piety and love. The following verse from the 130th Psalm has music for the ear and the heart too.

"My soul, base earth despising,  
 More longs with God to be,  
 Than rosy morning's rising  
 Tired watchmen watch to see."

The principal part of the volume we are noticing consists of the biographies of Fletcher, Wither, Quarles, Herbert, and Crashaw, with selections from their works. Giles Fletcher was author of a sacred poem called "Christ's Victory," first published in the year 1610. We agree with Mr. Willmott, that in the following stanza "every word is full of beautiful meaning." A writer who could pen such lines ought surely to be rescued from dust and worms.

"No sorrow now hangs clouding on their brow,  
 No bloodless malady empales their face,  
 No age drops on their hairs his silver snow,  
 No nakedness their bodies doth embase,  
 No poverty themselves and theirs disgrace ;  
 No fear of death the joy of life devours,  
 No unchaste sleep their precious time deflowers,  
 No loss, no grief, no change, wait on their winged hours."

The biography of Wither is the longest and most interesting contained in the volume before us. His life, which was a long one, was crowded with interesting incidents. He lived during a period of great excitement and feverish activity, and his ardent temper forced him into the thickest press of the times. One of his earliest productions was a satirical poem entitled "Abuses Stript and Whipt," written by him in a season of disappointment, and, as is frequently the case with satire, more productive of harm to the writer than of good to the community. His imprudence in this work caused him to be thrown into prison. Here he suffered much; but his vigorous mind, conscious of honest intentions, rose above his situation, and he composed in the Marshalsea prison many poems, among others, "The Shepherd's Hunting," a pastoral of great beauty. The following extract from "A Prisoner's Lay," will show that Wither could derive from his gloomy dungeon the most sublime reflections.

"Or when through me thou seest a man  
Condemned unto a mortal death,  
How sad he looks, how pale, how wan,  
Drawing, with fear, his panting breath:  
Think if in that such grief thou see,  
How sad will 'Go, ye cursed' be!

"Again, when he that feared to die  
(Past hope) doth see his pardon brought,  
Read but the joy that's in his eye,  
And then convey it to thy thought:  
Then think between thy heart and thee,  
How glad will 'Come, ye blessed' be!"

We wish we had room also for the exquisite address to Poetry from "The Shepherd's Hunting."

After Wither's liberation, appeared his poem called "The Motto." "Not the least singular part of 'The Motto,'" says his biographer, "is the frontispiece. The author is represented sitting on a rock, with gardens, houses, woods, and meadows, spread beneath him, to which he points with his finger, holding a ribband, on which is written *Nec habeo*, 'Nor have I.' At his feet is a globe of the earth, with the words, *Nec curo*, 'Nor care I.' The poet himself sits with eyes uplifted towards heaven, from which a ray of light descends, and from his lips proceed, *Nec careo*, 'Nor want I.'"

Among Wither's numerous works was the "Preparation for the Psalter," "a specimen of a voluminous commentary upon the Psalms, which the author never completed." We give two verses from his paraphrase of the 148th Psalm.

"Let such things as do not live  
In still music praises give :  
Lowly pipe, ye worms that creep,  
On the earth, or in the deep ;  
Loud aloft your voices strain,  
Beasts and monsters of the main.  
Birds, your warbling treble sing ;  
Clouds, your peals of thunder ring ;  
Sun and moon, exalted higher,  
And you, stars, augment the quire.

"Come, ye sons of human race,  
In this chorus take your place,  
And, amid this mortal throng,  
Be you masters of the song.  
Angels and celestial powers,  
Be the noblest tenor yours.  
Let, in praise of God, the sound  
Run a never-ending round ;  
That our holy hymn may be  
Everlasting, as is He."

Wither was present while the city of London was ravaged by the plague in 1625. His fortitude and piety are evinced when he gives the reason why he did not, like multitudes of others, desert the dangerous place. He says that he did "in affection thereunto make here his voluntary residence, when hundreds of thousands forsook their habitations, that, if God spared his life during that mortality, he might be a remembrancer both to this city and the whole nation." He gives a natural and impressive account of his experience during this sad period, in his poem called "Britain's Remembrancer."

In 1641 he published "The Halleluiah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer"; and with this poem, says his biographer, "the poetical life of Wither may be considered to have terminated." The remainder of his mortal career, which extended far into the shades of old age, was any thing but poetical. He had been a friend to royalty and the established church; and it does not appear that he ever became a thorough Puritan, or lost his regard for a well-balanced monarchy. He was honest himself, and probably gave credit for honesty to those who had



selfish purposes to serve, and who breathed the air of discord as if it were a genial and invigorating element. He had never been an ultra royalist. He had always preserved his independence of sentiment. He never prostituted his muse to a cringing and servile flattery of those in power. The Satire which he addressed to James, from the Marshalsea prison, and which breathed such a noble spirit of indignation at injustice, proved that there was in him none of the stuff out of which *court virtues* could be moulded. Hear how he expresses his scorn at "the hired flatterers and eulogists of the day":—

—————"Oh, how I scorn,  
Those raptures which are free and nobly born  
Should, fiddler-like, for entertainment scrape  
At strangers' windows, and go play the ape  
In counterfeiting passion."

There appears in all his poems an upright, straight-forward simplicity of character, which, while it led him often into imprudences and personal hazards, made him sympathize with any sincere and well-meant endeavours to rectify public evils and reform social abuses. We find him accordingly during the civil war devoting himself, heart and purse and hand, to the cause of the Parliament. He raised troops in the same cause, and suffered from his farm being plundered by the royalists. He spent many years in wearisome and almost fruitless endeavours to obtain from Parliament remuneration for his losses incurred in supporting their cause. He lost also the favor of his republican friends. A bitter pamphlet, which he wrote against Sir Richard Onslow, caused him to be again imprisoned for a twelvemonth. Our poet seems to have been at one time on familiar terms with Cromwell, speaks of having been carried by the Protector to his own table, and of having received from him the key of his private closet at Whitehall, that he might retire thither when he visited him. He, however, had the boldness and honesty to deliver back the said key when he found a lack of sincerity on the part of that singular personage, and seems not to have been backward in serving him up in conversation a dish of wholesome, though probably not to his taste savory truths. Wither, on the whole, seems to have had but a bitter experience of the Commonwealth's days. Poor, aged, and deserted by former friends, he began to look forward wishfully to the return of the monarchy. Charles the Second was restored; but this event did not better the poor poet's fortunes.

He was again imprisoned 1661. His muse was his companion in Newgate, as it had been on similar occasions before. He was discharged from the Tower, to which he had been transferred from Newgate, in 1663, and died on the 2d of May, 1667.

Francis Quarles was born in 1592. The best known of his poetical works is his *Emblems*, which is supposed to have appeared in 1635. The following extract we take from the work before us.

“PSALM.

“Ah! whither shall I fly? What path untrod  
Shall I seek out, to 'scape the flaming rod  
Of my offended, of my angry God?

Where shall I sojourn? What kind sea will hide  
My head from thunder? Where shall I abide  
Until his flames be quenched, or laid aside?

What if my feet should take their hasty flight,  
And seek protection in the shades of night?  
Alas! no shades can blind the God of light.

What if my soul should take the wings of day,  
And find some desert? If she springs away,  
The wings of vengeance clip as fast as they.

What if some solid rock should entertain  
My frightened soul? Can solid rocks sustain  
The stroke of Justice, and not cleave in twain?

Nor sea, nor shade, nor shield, nor rock, nor cave,  
Nor silent deserts, nor the sullen grave,  
Where flame-eyed Fury means to smite, can save.

'T is vain to flee; till gentle Mercy show  
Her better eye, the farther off we go,  
The swing of Justice deals the mightier blow.

The ingenuous child, corrected, doth not fly  
His angry mother's hand, but clings more nigh,  
And quenches, with his tears, her flaming eye.

Great God! there is no safety here below;  
Thou art my fortress; Thou that seem'st my foe,  
'T is Thou that strik'st the stroke must guard the blow.”

And the man who wrote this is satirized by Pope in the *Dunciad* thus:

“Or where the pictures for the page atone;  
And Quarles is saved by beauties not his own.”

We wish we had room to give specimens of this writer's prose, which is equal, if not superior, to his verse.

Gentle, pious Herbert comes next in the gallery of old worthies and sacred poets. At one time he had hopes of political preferment, but these were blasted by the death of many of his noble friends, particularly of James; and, although much disappointed, he brought himself, at length, to a surrender of the "painted pleasures of a court life," that he might devote himself to the work of a Gospel minister. The following lines on Grace are from his "Temple": —

"My stock lies dead, and no increase  
Doth my dull husbandry improve;  
O, let Thy graces, without cease,  
Drop from above!

"If still the sun should hide his face,  
Thy house would but a dungeon prove,  
Thy works night's captives; O, let grace  
Drop from above!

"The dew doth every morning fall,  
And shall the dew outstrip Thy dove?  
The dew, for which grass cannot call,  
Drop from above!

"O come, for Thou dost know the way,  
Or, if to me Thou wilt not move,  
Remove me where I need not say,  
Drop from above!"

We conclude our selections from the work we have been noticing, with the following version of the 137th Psalm, by Richard Crashaw:

"On the proud banks of great Euphrates' flood,  
There we sate, and there we wept;  
Our harps that now no music understood,  
Nodding on the willows, slept,  
While unhappy, captived we,  
Lovely Sion, thought on thee.

"They, they that snatcht us from our country's breast,  
Would have a song carved to their ears,  
In Hebrew numbers, then (O cruel jest!)  
When harps and hearts were drowned in tears:  
'Come,' they cried, 'come, sing and play  
One of Sion's songs to-day.'



"Sing! Play! To whom (ah!) shall we sing or play,  
 If not, Jerusalem, to thee?  
 Ah, thee, Jerusalem! ah, sooner may  
 This hand forget the mastery  
 Of music's dainty touch, than I  
 The music of thy memory.

"Which, when I lose, O may at once my tongue  
 Lose this same busy speaking art,  
 Unperched, her vocal arteries unstrung,  
 No more acquainted with my heart,  
 On my dry palate's roof to rest,  
 A withered leaf, an idle guest."

The author of the "Lives of Sacred Poets" evidently entered upon his task with pleasure, and he has succeeded in collecting from the rubbish of old times many a jewel to adorn the fair forms of Virtue and Piety. "I have walked," to use his own beautiful language, "through the burial ground of our elder poets with no irreverent footstep; and I shall not have lingered there in vain, if I have renewed one obliterated inscription, or bound one flower upon their tomb."

---

## NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

*Scenes and Characters illustrating Christian Truth. No. I. Trial and Self-Discipline.* By the Author of "James Talbot," "The Factory Girl," &c. pp. 100. — *No. II. The Skeptic.* By the Author of "The Well-Spent Hour," "Words of Truth," &c. pp. 144. Boston and Cambridge, James Munroe and Company. — Both of these little books have appeared since our last number was issued; and the approbation with which the public have received them has been so decided, that we are conscious that our own is hardly needed. Our approbation, however, and our welcome, and our hearty thanks we must give, if it is only to gratify our feelings with regard to them, and to show that we are not insensible to the merits which have won the universal suffrage. We look on these books as commencing, and under the happiest auspices, a new era in our religious literature. We know of no previous work, in our own country certainly, which has so happily presented and illustrated important religious truth, under the forms

of interesting narrative, and adorned with the graces of cultivated composition. "Their beauty makes us glad."

The first of these works sets forth in a manner truly touching and deeply impressive, the influence of religious principle in some of the most trying sorrows of life. It is a series of sketches rather than a continuous narrative; but each sketch has its object, and effects it. It appears to us to be an admirable book to put into the hands of the afflicted and distressed, — of all those who want something to support them, and inspire them with strengthening principle. We should not know what to think of the person, who should read it faithfully through, and not feel improved by the perusal.

The second of these volumes also attains its end by an equally excellent way. We say equally, — though we are aware that some prefer the one, and others the other, — because we perceive that the whole style of execution is so different in both, and in both so good, that it would be hard to say, in fairness, which is the best. People will decide, according to their peculiarities of taste, and according to their state of feeling, and their spiritual needs, at the time of reading them. We shall only say that we are delighted with both. "The Skeptic" is intended to exhibit the influences of Christian faith, and of infidelity, as they work in the fortunes of common and domestic life. Perhaps the book will have no good effect on confirmed and hardened unbelievers, — there are very few things that will; — but we are inclined to think, that on those who are halting between belief and unbelief, who are standing on the confines of light and darkness, it may exert a great and saving power.

---

*Sober Thoughts on the State of the Times, addressed to the Unitarian Community.* Boston. E. R. Broaders. 1835. 12mo. pp. 66. — The anonymous author of this able and spirited pamphlet deals for the most part in admonitions and warnings; but he is not the less to be heeded on that account; and besides, he sees much to hope as well as much to fear in the aspect of the times. He undertakes to recount and explain the influences under which the Unitarians of this country have become in many respects a community by themselves, to define the position which they now hold in the religious world, and to indicate some of their peculiar dangers and responsibilities. As the tract has not been very extensively read, we hope that a short passage or two, taken from it almost at random, will serve the double purpose of illustrating the author's manner, and inducing a curiosity to know more of his "Sober Thoughts."

"In all our congregations," he tell us, "and throughout every part of the country, there is a class of men, who have attached themselves to us simply because we are not Orthodox; men, who dislike Calvinism, but like nothing else; who think religion a good thing, that ought to be supported, and are glad to find some form which they can support different from that which they have been taught heartily to hate. They are anti calvinists, anti-orthodox, anti-zealots, anti-everything severe and urgent in religion. They will not forsake it, because to do so would put them out of good society; indeed, they are not without a vague traditional respect for it. They maintain a pew in the church, for the same reason that the worldly-minded merchant asks his minister to say grace when he has company to dine. It is decent and is expected of him. Such men are found among the loose hangers-on of every sect. A sect in the church militant is made up like an army going forth to war. There is the select body of the wise and hearty, who enter zealously into the merits of the cause, and give themselves to it soul and body. There is the larger number of considerate and faithful adherents, bound to it unflinchingly, but who are merely followers of the opinions of their betters, and take on themselves none of the responsibility of judging the merits of the case, or deciding on the propriety of the measures. There is still another class, who care little about the matter, who are in this army merely because it so happened, but are no more interested in its movements or success, than as they increase or diminish their own personal comforts. And lastly, there are the loose retainers of the camp, now here, now there, now nowhere, who like the protection of the flag and swell the numbers of the march, but who own no allegiance, perform no service, and are but a pestilent hindrance to those who are earnest in the cause. Such men, I say, are hanging about the skirts of every sect,—they hang about ours; would to God we could make good Christians of them! they are far enough from it now."—pp. 13–15.

In speaking of another "crying enormity," he says:

"The agitations of society have disturbed the foundations and weakened the strength of the churches in all parts of the land, and threatened some of them even with extinction. In many humble and impoverished parishes, numbers are few, means are small, and the Gospel is costly. It is an alarming problem yet to be solved, what shall be done to keep alive the fire on those lesser altars; and now that the law has forsaken the church door in this as well as in the other States, a new era has arrived, when the wise must contrive how the Gospel shall be supported among the thinly scattered and feeble, so that its light shall continue to burn, and our children of the coming generations shall be born to the enjoyment of Christian worship. Let those who are able, devise; let the favored and wealthy be ready to contribute; let all ponder and pray;—and God forbid, that, through our remissness, one cottage shall remain upon our blessed fields, whose inmates are beyond the reach of the Sabbath-bell and the pulpit exhortation. There are some who do not feel this aright;—some, blessed by God with property as well as liberty, who fancy that both are for themselves only, and who meanly withdraw from the support of his



worship. There are congregations made up, in considerable part, of men who are more willing to live without the preaching of the Word, than to tax themselves so much for the means of salvation as they do for sugar in their tea, or for needless ornaments on the dress of their daughters." — pp. 35, 36.

---

*The Western Examiner.* — Proposals have appeared for publishing at Cincinnati, Ohio, a monthly magazine, under this title, to be mainly devoted to the exposition and inculcation of Christianity as understood by Unitarians, with a particular view to the social and religious condition of the West. Ample space will, however, be allowed for general discussions respecting education and the various benevolent enterprises of the day, and for intelligence in regard to all local topics of interest. The work is to be conducted by the association of Unitarian ministers in the West, one of whom resides at Buffalo, New York, another at Louisville, Kentucky, and another at St. Louis, Missouri; the Rev. Mr. Peabody, of Cincinnati, being the responsible editor. Each number will contain seventy-two large medium octavo pages, making, at the end of the year, two volumes of four hundred and thirty-two pages each; the subscription price of which will be three dollars, payable on the reception of the second number. From our knowledge of the character and abilities of the gentlemen engaged in this undertaking, and of their peculiarly favorable position for understanding and supplying the wants of those for whose benefit the work is especially intended, and of the great need there is of precisely such a work to serve as a point of union and support to the western Unitarians, and a channel of communication and sympathy, between them and their eastern brethren, and also as a check on the efforts made for the spread of error and skepticism, throughout an immense, rapidly extending, and most interesting portion of our country, we cannot doubt that the friends of liberal Christianity, here as well as there, will be willing and eager to give it every encouragement and aid in their power. James Munroe and Co., 134 Washington Street, Boston, are general agents for receiving subscriptions.

---

*Professor Palfrey's Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities.* — The annunciation of this comprehensive and much needed work has been received with strong expressions of favor and sanguine anticipation. According to the prospectus, it will consist of four volumes, octavo, of between four hundred and fifty and five hundred pages each; and be furnished to subscribers, handsomely printed and bound in cloth, at the price of two dollars and a half a volume, payable on its delivery. The *first* vol-

ume will discuss the authenticity of the last four books of the Pentateuch, the evidences of the mission of Moses, and the character and objects of his law. The *second* will treat of the records of the primitive and patriarchal times given in the book of Genesis, and of the national history of the Hebrews under the Judges and Kings. The *third* will examine the question of prophetic inspiration in connexion with an account of the literary history and contents of the books of the Prophets, and a detailed exposition of some important passages. The *fourth* and last will be given to the remainder of the canonical and apocryphal writings, and comprise among other things a particular notice of the Psalms which are quoted in the New Testament, and a continuation of the Jewish history down to the Christian era. Whether regard be had to the bearing of these discussions on a proper understanding of the Old Testament, or on the evidences of Christianity, or on other curious and perplexing questions, their appearance, coming from a writer so highly and justly esteemed for his judgment and accuracy, will be impatiently waited for by not a few among general as well as professional readers. As no publisher could be expected to undertake so expensive a work without some assurance of patronage, we are given to understand that it will be put to press early in the autumn, if the number of subscribers at that time will warrant the step, but not otherwise. We hardly need add, that if, from failure here, these Lectures should never see the light, it would be, to the Unitarian community especially, matter of lasting regret and mortification.

---

**THE NEW TESTAMENT** in the Common Version, conformed to Griesbach's standard Greek text. Third Edition. 12mo.

**A HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS**, on the Plan proposed by LANT CARPENTER, LL. D.

**THE TEACHER'S GIFT TO HIS PUPILS,**  
WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS. (Second Edition.)

**THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL SINGING-BOOK**, to which are added a few Moral Songs. By GEORGE KINGSLEY. Approved by the Boston Sunday-School Society. 1 vol. 16mo.

**A NEW TRANSLATION  
OF THE  
HEBREW PROPHETS.**

Arranged in chronological order. Vol. I. — containing Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah.

By GEORGE E. NOYES.

The *Book of Job* and the *Psalms* have also been translated by Mr. Noyes, and published. The estimation in which these translations are held, may be ascertained in some degree from the following extracts: —

"No translation has appeared in England since that of Isaiah by Lowth, which can sustain a comparison with that of the book of Job, by Mr. Noyes. With some slight exceptions, this latter is very much what we could wish it to be." — *Spirit of the Pilgrims*.

"We cordially welcome this book of Psalms in its new and inviting form. It was with satisfaction we heard of Mr. Noyes's undertaking; one of the most useful and important, as well as responsible, in which a scholar and a theologian can engage. The religious public are already indebted to his labors for the Translation of Job. Those of our readers, — and we hope they are not few, — who are familiar with that excellent work, will already have anticipated benefit and gratification from this. And though it was not to be expected, that so much was to be done, because there was not so much needed, for the improvement of a devotional work, like the Psalms, as for the obscure and difficult book of Job, yet every intelligent reader will perceive in this the same fidelity, good judgment, and taste, which so highly recommended his former translation." — *Christian Register*.

These works have also been very favorably noticed in the *North American Review*, *Christian Examiner*, *N. Y. American*, *Philadelphia National Gazette*, and numerous other periodicals and books.

**CHEAP AND SPLENDID FAMILY BIBLE.**  
**WITHOUT NOTE OR COMMENT;**

*In two vols. Imperial Octavo.*

The publisher believes he can say with confidence, that this is one of the most elegant and accurate editions of the Holy Scriptures, that have appeared in any country.

The paper is of extra quality, the type large and very clear; and yet from its being in two octavo volumes, it is perfectly convenient for use. It has all the advantages of a quarto volume, without its unwieldy clumsiness. Two beautiful engravings, by Hatch and Smillie, accompany the work; one of them is from Cole's painting of the "Garden of Eden," the other from Correggio's celebrated painting of "Mary Magdalene reading the Scriptures."

The price in sheets is \$5; bound in glazed cambric, \$6; in sheep, \$6.50; in calf, at various prices, according to the style.



# CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

CHARLES BOWEN,

NO. 141, WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

## AGENTS.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

PORTSMOUTH, J. W. Foster.  
 EXETER, F. Grant.  
 DOVER, & } G. & E. Wadleigh.  
 GREAT FALLS, }  
 KEENE, George Tilden.  
 CONCORD, Marsh, Capen, & Lyon.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

CAMBRIDGE, James Munroe, & Co.  
 CONCORD, J. Stacy.  
 TAUNTON, F. Dunbar.  
 SALEM, { Foote & Chisholm.  
 { H. Whipple.  
 DANVER, A. Trask, Jr.  
 NEWBURYPORT, Charles Whipple.  
 HINGHAM, C. & E. B. Gill.  
 NEW BEDFORD, William Howe.  
 NANTUCKET, George W. Ewer.  
 GROTON, A. Richardson.  
 GREENFIELD, David Clark, Jr.  
 WORCESTER, C. Harris.  
 SPRINGFIELD, Elisha Edwards.  
 NORTHAMPTON, J. H. Butler.  
 LOWELL, R. Meschem.

### MAINE.

PORTLAND, Colman & Chisholm.  
 HALLOWELL, C. Spaulding.  
 BELFAST, E. T. Morrill.  
 AUGUSTA, G. S. Carpenter & Co.  
 BANGOR, Nourse & Smith.  
 EASTPORT, H. B. Williams.

### RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE, { George Dana.  
 { A. S. Beckwith & Co.

### CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN, Herrick & Noyes.  
 HARTFORD, Beach & Beckwith.

### VERMONT.

BURLINGTON, E. Smith.

### NEW JERSEY.

TRENTON, D. Foster.

### NEW YORK.

ALBANY, W. C. Little.  
 NEW YORK, C. S. Francis.  
 TRENTON, Isaac B. Pierce.  
 CANANDAIGUA, Morse & Harvey.  
 AUBURN, H. Ivison & Co.  
 BUFFALO, O. G. Steele.  
 ROCHESTER, C. & M. Morse.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Jas. Kay, Jr. & Brother.  
 PITTSBURG, Kay & Co.

### MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE, E. J. Coale & Co.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON, P. Thompson.

### VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, R. D. Sankey.  
 NORFOLK, C. Hall.

### KENTUCKY.

LEXINGTON, C. Wallace.

### OHIO.

CINCINNATI, E. Deming.  
 MARIETTA, N. Ward.

### NORTH CAROLINA.

RALPH, J. Gales & Son.

### SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON, Thomas Cousins.  
 COLEMBIA, B. D. Plant.

### GEORGIA.

AUGUSTA, W. J. Hobby.  
 SAVANNAH, Thomas Parson.

### ALABAMA.

MOBILE, S. Smith.

### TENNESSEE.

NASHVILLE, W. A. Eichbaum.  
 CHRISTIANVILLE, B. S. Parsons.

### MISSISSIPPI.

NATCHES, Beaumont & Williams.

### LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, E. Johns & Co.

33- The work will be sent by mail to any part of the United States on the remittance of one year's subscription (four dollars) to the Publisher, Boston, or to any of the agents, — subscribers paying postage, and taking the risk of conveyance.

The subscription becomes due on the publication of the second number; that is, on the 1st of May. Distant subscribers are expected to transmit the amount of their yearly subscriptions as soon as they receive the second number of each year.